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No. 21 1949

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THE TENNESSEE COUNTRY EDITOR

By Thomas D. Clark*

On September 19, 1874, Editor D.W. Wisdom of the Jackson *Whig and Tribune* anounced to the world and Madison County in particular that he was about to undertake a most ambitious task. He told the readers of his newly consolidated paper that he was out to correct the wrongs of their community, state, and nation. His purposes were many, but among them he emphasized "The just reward of honest labor, the equalization of the burden of government on all property, restriction of federal authority to powers delegated or clearly implied in the constitution, destruction of monopolies oppressive to people, abolition of all useless offices and the reduction of exorbitant salaries, rigid economy in the state government, reforms in the law so as to render its execution speedy and certain, a close accountability by revenue officers, a restriction of taxation to the inevitable necessities of the state government, and maintenance of its credit, abolition of the existing national banking system, regulation of currency so that people may have cheap and good money based upon credit of government, repeal of the tariff, and unalterable opposition to the Civil Rights Bill." But, said the editor, he would try to harmonize instead of antagonize race relations, and he would denounce all laws which attempted to degrade the white people of the South. In a final thunderclap he invoked an inky pox upon those "political knaves who salamander-like thrive on racial animosities." He proposed to deal with the facts, observe all the sanctities and courtesies of life, and strictly to support the Democratic party.[1]

A majority of the weekly editors ushered their tender first issues into the world with similar thunderous declarations of high purpose. Editing a paper was a sacred calling to them, and they set their sights high. They were more aware in beginning publication of their papers of the delicate instrument of public opinion which they controlled, than they were oftentimes when the newness of editor-

*An address delivered at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Chattanooga, November 20, 1948.

[1]*The Whig and Tribune* (Jackson), September 19, 1874. Another statement, "We expect to be strictly Democratic and to hold up the honor of our forefathers, wno one and all were strictly true to Jeffersonian Democracy. We do not believe in any third party and will endeavor to discourage the same to the best of our ability, not only because it is not Democracy but because we believe it injurious to the people as a class." *The Dickson County Press* (Charlotte), October 8, 1891.

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ship had worn off. Nevertheless, Tennessee was a good field for the country editor to practice his profession. It was virgin newspaper territory in many of its parts, and its people were highly receptive of the kind of news coverage which a weekly journal offered.

Historically Tennessee has been essentially a rural state, and most of its basic institutions cater to the rural needs of its people. Its country stores, churches, schools and papers have flourished. In 1865 there were 11 weekly papers, and by 1883 this number had increased to 135. In 1910 there were 238; in 1937, 157; and in 1948, 123. Names of these papers ranged from the stock titles of *Times, Star, Record, Bulletin,* and *News* to the Tracy City *Mrs. Grundy* and the Sweetwater *Telephone*. Of the papers in existence in 1910, the great majority of them were founded after 1890, and many of them had been in existence for only four or five years. The oldest weekly paper now in publication is the Franklin *Review-Appeal* which was founded in 1813; in 1910 only seven papers antedated the Civil War.[2]

Tennessee's country papers have been no different from those of the other southern states. Their distinction lies not so much in their degree of difference as in the field of similarity. Earlier papers in the state, like those of the South generally, were concerned primarily with politics. Local news and the social and economic affairs of the state were definitely of secondary importance. After 1865 the very nature of development in the state forced editors to become more aware of happenings in their communities. In many respects, and paradoxically, Tennessee society became more isolated and local after the war. On the other hand there was a consciousness of the larger world outside, and this awareness was often translated into tangible form by the founding of weekly newspapers. To a certain extent the editing of a paper offered a professional opening for an ambitious young man who beheld the Tennessee world before him with its reshuffled standard of economic and social values. The increase in the number of counties, the rapidly growing population, the development of new towns and villages, and the intensely local system of politics all stimulated the growth of numerous local papers.

On top of all the community forces which were conducive to the founding of a weekly paper, there were many outside factors which accounted for the rapid expansion of Tennessee journalistic activi-

[2]All statistics quoted in this paper are taken from N. W. Ayers and Sons, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia, 1869–), 1869-1948. Also, Edwin Alden and Brother, *American Newspaper Catalogue* (Cincinnati, 1883). In 1929 there were 163 weekly papers in Tennessee with a total circulation of 248,592. Of these 101 were Democratic, 41 were Republican, and 7 were independent. The Democratic papers had a circulation of 158,046, the Republican papers 31,240, and the independent papers 59,306. Ayers, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory,* 1929, pp. 1008-1025.

ties. Among these was the development, in the immediate post-war years, of the ready-print or syndicate services which materially reduced the amount of capital necessary to begin publication of a paper. The so-called newspaper unions which supplied this service were diligent in assisting to open new outlets for their wares. Because of these services the local newspaper flourished in the United States as nowhere else in the world. Everywhere there are weekly papers; even in the most isolated Appalachian community an ambitious editor has found enough income to keep a paper going. In the past this has been greatly facilitated by the availibility of ready-printed copy from the outside. These aids were developed in Chicago and New York, and so-called newspaper unions supplied paper and two pages of patent matter already printed for a nominal price. All the local editor had to do was to gather and set enough material for two pages and he was in the newspaper business. Boiler plate came in column wide strips which could be placed anywhere in the paper an editor wished to use it; thus his type setting problem was negligible.[3]

The material which the Tennessee weekly presented readers on its ready-print pages was frequently miscellaneous, always non-controversial, sometimes useful, and generally readable.[4] This type of material had to be of an "evergreen" nature, which meant it was about as timely one month as another. There were stories on farming methods, care of livestock and children, the International Sunday School lesson, biographical sketches of famous men and women, travelogues, stories of how everything under the sun was made, cooking recipes, modes of life of foreign peoples, and political editorials from "safe" southern daily paper editors.[5]

The stories which attracted most readers were those light human interest features which neither pointed a moral nor adorned a tale. Among these were stories of school life in Armenia which described the children, their equipment, and play.[6] An educational problem which was a little more serious was the one which faced the professors of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Their anatomy classes had accumulated six barrels of human ashes, and when the ready-print editor went to press no decision had been made as to their

[3]A good brief historical account of this service is to be found in Elmo Scott Watson, *A History of Newspaper Syndicates in the United States,* 1865-1935 (Chicago, 1936).

[4]Letter from Wright A. Patterson, long time editor of the *Western Newspaper Union,* to the author, December 1, 1945.

[5]News and editorial materials were taken largely from the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Nashville *Banner,* Chattanooga *Times* and *Commercial,* and the Memphis *Commercial and Appeal, later the Commercial-Appeal.*

[6]*Southern Standard* (McMinnville), July 28, 1894.

disposition.[7] The eating habits of alligators were fascinating, as was the fact that a rooster whipped a dog in some unnamed person's backyard. There was an account of a sixteen foot alligator's fighting a bear in a Louisiana bayou, but less pugnacious was the story of Mrs. Astor's rings.[8] One had belonged to Napoleon, one was made of gold and diamond forget-me-nots, and another was an Egyptian snake ring. On this subject of rings there were a lot of society women who loved them: among these were Mrs. Paran Stevens, Mrs. Burke-Rocke, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Mrs. Leland Stanford, and Mrs. Richard Lounsburg.[9] Whatever nonsense the ready-print sheets brought to their readers, this service had the virtue of revealing the big, curious, and often idiotic world which lay beyond the rim of the local horizon.

The wave of economic progress which swept the nation also made itself felt locally in the South, and it became a matter of community pride that the region's villages had grown sufficiently to support their own press. They were becoming important enough for the world to know about them. There was a need for the location of railroads through county seats, the great stream of immigrants from Europe and the North should be diverted southward, and channels should be opened for the flow of northern capital into prospective manufacturing towns. Progress could not be boasted about without a public organ.

An added financial incentive to the rapid rise of the weekly journals was the fact that local politicians possibly had become more numerous. Certainly they had become more publicity conscious, and announcements, handbills, and cards produced an attractive source of income for printers. In many instances politicians were willing to finance a country paper in order to be able to command its facilities during campaign years.[10]

Only a limited amount of formal education was necessary for purposes of editing a paper. In fact a good country editor had to be fairly seasoned to manual labor, educated enough to set type, and possessed of enough common sense to be tactful and judicious in his writings. In many instances a college education was a drawback rather than an asset. Perhaps it should be added to editorial requirements that the editor possess an understanding and sympathy for rural people and that he have a keen enough sense of humor to take neither himself nor his community too seriously. A nose for homey

[7] *The New Era* (McMinnville), July 6, 1882.
[8] *The Southern Standard*, November 24, 1894.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] In many instances editors were dependent upon elected officers for public printing contracts. On the other hand papers were often owned by politicians.

human interest stories was often worth more than a bachelor of arts degree *summa cum laude.*

Tennessee country papers lived up to their names and faithfully reflected the life of the communities which they served. If anything of consequence has happened at a Tennessee crossroads for the last eighty years and was not reported to a country weekly, it was because the cross-roads reporters were out of paper and pencils or were on the way to the graveyard as corpses. The reportorial record is one of neighbors going home with neighbors from church to eat dinner, of rains, drouths, storms, cold spells, snows, and heat waves. No changing phase of weather escaped detection by these crossroad scribes, and they thrived on sickness, death, funerals, calamities, marriages, births, rows, and practical joking. They went to church, to picnics, parties, speakings, dogfights, baptisings, fires, weddings, hangings, lynchings, and were on the ground after every runaway scrape. They were mongerers of the sensational and of the drab. Their objectives in life were those of keeping the people informed, putting names in the paper, and puffing their home communities. Without them the Tennessee country press would have been almost ineffective. The local reporter labored for love, a scanty supply of pencils and white paper, and the limited amount of dignity which he got out of his simple profession.[11]

A sample of the happenings which made news is this report from Irving College near McMinnville.

> Miss Maggie Etter and Mr. F. S. Grizzle were married Thursday night, June 22, at Hebron Church, after which the young people repaired to the X roads and partook of a bountiful feast of good things and a fine time until the "wee small hours of the night." When old Morpheus drove them to their homes for rest. A large party attended the infair [infare] at Mr. Isaac Grizzles the following day.[12]

A more irate village local reporter voiced his opinion on the racial situation by informing his readers that,

> the darkies, or some fifteen or twenty of them, had a high old time on South Spring Street last Monday evening and night, drinking, quarreling, fighting and obstructing the sidewalk. The row culminated in the severe cutting

[11]Local correspondents were often given instructions similar to those which appeared in *The Southern Standard,* September 27, 1890. "Our printers," wrote the editor, "can get along very well with bad handwriting and bad spelling, but they can't waste time trying to read copy written in pale ink or a pencil which makes a dim mark. Correspondents will please keep this in view, and use only good black ink, or a soft lead pencil, and if they would leave off flourishes in writing, write as plain as possible, we are always willing to correct any little inaccuracies in spelling and grammar, but we request all our correspondents to be as accurate as possible in all their statements of news matter."

[12]*The New Era,* July 6, 1882.

of Coon Walling. Our darkey friends are getting to be a little too previous in their conduct on the streets, and our municipal laws need prompt enforcement to the full penalty of such extent.[13]

News of the crossroads was most informal. A lot of it consisted of silly babbling by love-struck female reporters, much of it was whimsical in its humor, some was poetic, but the great volume was as dull and uninspired as the acts reported.

Occasionally a masterful reporter was able to look a situation over and give free reign to his eloquent pen. He was the kind of person who made baptism sound even more appealing than did the preachers. Standing on the bank of Hickory Creek in Warren County on a brisk October morning in 1893, he was able to recognize a story when he saw one. In the best rural Victorian style he wrote,

At an early hour this beautiful October morning a large company of God's people assembled at the water to witness the always interesting ordinance of baptism. The scene, Hickory Creek, was one long to be remembered by those who witnessed the time-honored rite. The water in most places was too shallow for complete immersion, but on the east side of the little city of Viola near the wreck of an old picturesque mill rested a placid lake, not a ripple disturbed its quiet bosom, and not a cloud in the azure blue that bent over us, on the hither side people stood in groups, or sat prone upon the dry grass, and every outline of form and color was reflected in the still water. On the bank bending far over the lake was a huge walnut tree, the nuts still clinging to the boughs, which were adorned only with a few russett colored leaves. The frost within the last week had touched with a magic wand the foliage of the forest, and in every direction, crimson and gold and yellow and brown and russet softened the outline of the distant mountain and lent enchantment to all nature. Indeed, it was one of those rare October days which seemed to stand apart for brightness and beauty from all the other days in the year, the air bright cool and delicious, while the bright sunlight seemed to envelope one with comfortable warmth of a summer blanket. After singing, the Reverend I. H. Morton of Berlin, Tennessee, made a stirring appeal while the candidates were being prepared for the water, Mrs. Wooten, Miss Ada Scott and two boys verging upon manhood, Messrs. Winston and Smart. The ordinance was performed by Reverend James Stubblefield, with ease and grace that showed he was no prentice hand.[14]

Reporting a baptism was a mere beginning for the more eloquent stories of weddings. Thousands of wedding announcements oozed a saccharine flow of editorial flattery and inky moonshine.

[13]*Ibid.* On the Negro question there was much editorializing. See *The Whig and Tribune,* June 20, 27, July 11, 25, August 22, 29, September 12, 19, 1874, and September 12, 1875; *The Gibson County Press* (Gibson), June 9, 1892; *The Dickson County Press* (Charlotte), October 26, 1882; *The East Tennessean* (Kingston), June 14, 1869, October 15, 1874; *The Linden Times* (Linden), December 16, 1880; *The Southern Standard,* June 14, 1890, September 23, November 25, 1893; *The Pulaski Citizen* (Pulaski), February 17, 1881, November 10, 1904; *The Athens Post* (Athens), January 9, 30, May 29, June 5, 12, August 14, 21, December 11, 1874.

[14]*The Southern Standard,* October 28, 1893.

Some of them were reported as though they were medieval jousts on a tender field of knightly honor; many were described as the intoxicated frolics of Cupid, while others were presented as wholesome rural Tennessee affairs with more than a suggestion that marriages should be fruitful. A fancy home wedding followed rituals of the various periods. Those of the eighties appear to have occurred in the roseate settings of giant valentines. When William Chapel of Pulaski married Georgia Adams, the Adams' house was turned into a delicate bower of forest love. A festoon of evergreens extended in waves across the ceiling. A giant evergreen horseshoe trimmed in white roses, silver leaves, and sprigs hung down from the center. White and pink hearts marked the positions of the bride and groom at the altar, and extending across the rear of the room in view of the audience was the legend in flowers, "Thy people shall be My People."[15]

Sometimes weddings were not so happy. There were those affairs where run-away couples barely beat irate fathers to the justices of the peace and the preachers. There were other occasions when unwilling grooms were too slow in their get-away, and they stood, not under pink rose hearts, but under the menacing frowns of the guardians of family honor. Occasionally disputes arose at hurried weddings, and at least one of them resulted in tragedy. At Cornersville, near Huntingdon, a couple ran away to be married, and were overtaken by the bride's brother. In the middle of the ceremony he shot the groom fatally. Before he died, however, the girl had the wedding ceremony completed, saying that she "had rather mourn a dead husband than a dead lover."[16] Whatever the nature of the report, the local papers recorded a vital and often frank social record which gave savor to Tennessee life in its changing phases. These simple little news stories constitute a meager formal history of both communities and individuals after 1865.

Wedding stories were succeeded by accounts of births. As one editor said, it "was orange blossoms one year and oranges the next." Possibly a majority of the white people born in the rural areas of the state can find an account in their local paper of their birth. They may not have received a name before the editor heard about them, but most likely their birth was exciting enough to make a local in the paper. In this period when social security, old age pensions, and even travel abroad make proof of birth mandatory, this is one of the best contemporary sources from which to secure

[15]*The Pulaski Citizen,* November 10, 1881.
[16]*The West Tennessean* (Huntingdon), February 11, 1869.

this information for people born prior to 1911.

Community play parties were reported weekly. Life might have been drab in many communities, but in a majority of them it passed at a merry clip for the young people at least. Barbecues and picnics brought people together in the summer. In fact, the barbecue was both a social and a political institution. Candidates for office were assured of a crowd in a mood for a speech. Boys found the girls ready to be courted, and neighbors found plenty to gossip about the whole day through. Puritanical bars were lowered and the young folks were allowed to dance at these gatherings. No doubt a few of the older and more debilitated members of the company brightened their outlook on the day's happenings with sly nips from the ubiquitous bottle. Frequently there was the hospitable man with a wagon-load of watermelons, and without exception, there were the well-ladened tables which proclaimed rural Tennessee a land of plenty. Winter months and bad weather forced the frolickers indoors, and entertainment ranged from quiet courting by an open fireside to the rollicking play parties where original-minded females worked overtime to create excitement. In many instances there appeared accounts of these parties in which girls used gracious subtlety in staking claims to their men. There were the necktie and handkerchief parties at which boys were supposed to wear neckties to match the handkerchiefs and dresses of the girls who invited them.[17] Local reporters and editors filled their columns with stories of these pleasant affairs. Editors had to be careful, however, that their reporters did not slip in local gossip of unpleasantness at these parties and get them into hot water. Everywhere publishers had to use care that they were not given malicious reports in order to settle old community scores. Every editorial desk drawer contained samples of this kind of reporting.

The Tennessee editorial attitude toward woman was largely that of the cavalier. Womanhood—that is, genteel womanhood—was to be protected and praised. The sanctity of the home was a precious thing, and no one but a coward would let it be violated without retaliation. It was not unusual for retaliation to take a violent form. A Dr. Van Zandt of Georgetown, Tennessee, was shot by his brother-in-law, G. D. Talifero, while he was sitting by his fireside. The facts in the case were that Mrs. Talifero and Dr. Van Zandt had engaged in an illicit love affair and Talifero had sent his wife to her home in Cleveland to get her out of the way. This story was given rather wide

[17]*The Hickman Pioneer* (Centreville), February 8, 1878, February 26, 1879; *The Dickson County Press*, April 13, 1882, January 18, 1883.

coverage in the state press. The Chattanooga *Commercial* used the word "diabolical" in its news story, and D. F. Wisdom of the Jackson *Whig and Tribune* challenged its usage. "The word," wrote the Jackson editor, "is improperly used. Such men as Talifero always have our sympathy. Through no fault of theirs they are made to go through life with blood stains upon their hands. There was nothing wrong in the shooting of Dr. Van Zandt except the manner in which it was done. These flashes of lightning contribute to purify the social atmosphere, and we would not prevent them if we could."[18]

In other fields of social history, the weekly paper has reflected the growth of Tennessee society. There is the broad field of folk lore which has always been an integral part of the nature of a rural people. Weather, as said earlier, was the great introductory subject of local reports. Almost without exception its changing phases were reported first. This was important to the economic well-being of the readers, and at the same time weather reports from different sections of a county usually gave a general pattern of crop conditions. From the manner in which some editors reported weather conditions throughout their counties a modern reader gets the notion that there was a feeling that they were trying to explain that the Lord was impartial in distributing favors. Changing seasons were reported with regularity, and long range predictions were often based on old folk omens. Among these was the favorite use of the goose bone as a seasonal barometer. If the coloring near the point was dark and extended the sign denoted that a rough winter was ahead.[19]

As a matter of fact, the whole realm of folk lore and medicine at one time or another was dragged into print. There were the calamity howlers who predicted the end of the world. One citizen, said the Athens *Post*, predicted the millenium would come in 1878, and when it did not occur there were numerous prophets of gloom to offer corrections in the calculation as to the end of time. The Tennessee and North Carolina mountains frequently caused trouble. Scarcely a year went by without a note that some unusual thing was happening to the surface of the earth in this region. In 1874 a rumor was out that Bald Mountain in North Carolina was sinking down, and there was an intimation that a volcanic eruption might endanger the lives of Tennesseans. In fact, it was said the whole Smoky chain would be involved, and the entire eastern end of Tennessee would

[18]*The Whig and Tribune*, February 21, 1874.
[19]*The Southern Standard*, October 12, 1889.

slough off into eternity.[20]

When the editors were not feeling the pulse of the earth for earthquakes, they were gazing into the sky for marvels. Periodically the belled buzzard appeared to make a paragraph, or someone saw some strange apparition floating across the heavens. There were the Pierce brothers on the Kentucky-Tennessee line who saw what looked like the figures of a man and two women floating through the sky. In fifteen minutes two of the figures embraced just under the sun and turned into a large eagle which in turn sailed around the remaining woman for fifteen minutes and then lit on her head. This was indeed a wonder, but perhaps no greater than some of the other strange physical phenomena reported in the papers.[21]

A Negro woman rushed into Ross' drugstore in Pulaski and announced a ghost was trailing her. She explained that she had "lizard leg." When the clerks got her quiet enough to make an examination she had thrust her arm into a sleeve with a halfgrown rat and it was trying to escape.[22] In Maury County a Negro family said they were bewitched, and lizards crawled in their flesh every spring. So dignified a journal as the Murfreesboro *Record* published a long story about the hardships of Thankful Taylor. Thankful had a snake in her stomach which had lived there for four years until Dr. J. M. Burger extracted it. This paper published an unusually long interview with Dr. Burger, and produced a series of affidavits from witnesses to this feat. It is not, however, without significance that some of the witnesses had to sign their sworn statements with cross marks.[23]

A less nauseating and more interesting story was that of people who found buried or hidden treasures. A Negro man near Pulaski plowed up two tin cans containing seventy-five $20 gold pieces and fifty $10 pieces. These cans were two of four buried there in 1863 by Colonel Albert Buford. When the Civil War was over he found two of them but lost the landmarks which located the others. If the editors could not dig up a hidden treasure story at home they went afield for one.[24] There was the account of the Negro Ephriam Alston who chopped down a tree on Joe Woody's farm in Newland

[20]Although there were numerous stories at different times about earthquakes in East Tennessee specific references are: *The Athens Post,* March 20, April 10, May 1, 1874. Other references to calamites are: *The Whig and Tribune,* April 11, 1874: *The Hickman Pioneer,* July 16, 1880; *The Southern Standard,* April 5, 1890; *The Dickson County Free Press,* August 31, 1882, September 6, 1883.

[21]*The Athens Post,* August 7, 1874.

[22]*The Pulaski Citizen,* March 17, 1881. See, also, *The Hickman Pioneer,* February 22, 1875.

[23]*The Whig and Tribune,* July 11, 1874.

[24]*The Pulaski Citizen,* May 5, 1881.

township in North Carolina. When he split the trunk into rails he uncovered a hole which was overgrown, but which contained twenty-six gold coins placed there during the War of 1812.[25]

From digging up buried treasures, or chopping it out of trees, to uncovering graves was a rather long step. It is doubtful, however, that any stories ever published in a country newspaper contained more interest than those which described the exhumation of bodies. Sometimes there were stories of the moving of graves. Occasionally the grading of a road bed, the digging of a basement, or the changing of the course of a river brought skeletons and bodies to the surface. Whatever the cause, there was always a story. One of the mortal fears of the nineteenth century seems to have been that of being buried alive. Frequent accounts appeared in ready-print pages telling of graves which had been opened revealing that persons had been buried alive. A sample of this type of story was that of a woman in Chapmanville, Pennsylvania, who apparently had died and was buried while her husband was away from home. When he returned he had the body exhumed, and it was discovered that the wife had revived and had scratched herself fearfully in an attempt to escape. The husband, it was said, fell across the casket a raving maniac.[26] In time both local and ready-print editors regretted their sensational indiscretions, and they undertook to allay public fear by publishing stories denying that it was possible for a person to revive in a closed casket if he had failed to respond to the oxygen in the fresh air before burial.[27]

Country journalism in Tennessee of an earlier day was rather diligent in its search for feature material. The more ghastly or frightening this material, the more desirable it was. If they were not opening graves or running ghosts to their lairs, they were out looking for snakes. The reporter from Nail's Creek in Dickson County reported to his paper in 1883 that

> As the season for "big snake and fish" stories has arrived, here goes: Friday last your correspondent killed a large chicken snake that measured six feet in length; also on Tuesday, your correspondent, with the assistance of John Rist, killed a black adder something over three feet in length. How is that for the

[25] *The McMinnville New Era*, March 30, 1882. See. also, the tall story in the *Stewart Breeze* (Dover), July 22, 1887, about $3,200 being found under a smokehouse.

[26] *The Whig and Tribune*, April 11, 1874. A similar story was published in the same paper January 31, 1874. For kindred material see *The Athens Post*, August 21, 1874, and *The Pulaski Citizen*, May 5, 1881.

[27] By 1890 newspaper services and local editors were devoting considerable space to correcting the damage they had done by publishing so many irresponsible stories.

first snake stories of this season.[28]

A slightly more moral story, but certainly a ghastly one, was that reported by the editor of the Athens *Post* as having been gathered first hand. He said the moonshiners of the Great Smokies were annoyed by revenue officers, and they were forced back into the deep coves and ravines in order to cover up their illicit activities. One distiller located an isolated ravine so far from his house that he could go to see about it only at intervals of ten days. On one occasion he failed to return and his wife feared he had run amuck of the law. She collected a party of neighbors and went forth to determine the truth of her husband's delay. When the searchers reached the still house all was quiet. They knocked on the door and there was no answer. Forcing their way into the small structure, they found the bloated form of the distiller sprawled on the floor, and the interior of the building alive with rattlesnakes. The party fled. When it was determined that the body could not be rescued except at great risk, the building was burned. The editor explained that the husband in his effort to dodge the revenue officers had pitched head-long into trouble of another and more deadly kind. He had built his still over a den of hibernating rattlers, and the heat of the furnace and the fumes of the liquor had brought the stupid snakes out in large numbers. Pointing a moral, the Athens editor said this accident "made a great impression on the mountain people." Finally he observed that "whiskey is a mighty dangerous thing to fool with anyway."[29]

These were the stories which made people read the paper, but they did not necessarily represent the body and meat of the country journal. The heart of the paper was to be found on the editorial page. Here the intelligent editor made his influence felt. He discussed politics almost the year round, and during the annual elections he usually took a pronounced partisan side in the races. Every four years the weeklies discussed the presidential election from January to November. In this field Tennessee papers more nearly resembled those of Kentucky than those of the rest of the South. They not only fought bitter factional battles within the Democratic party but likewise between the two parties. To help enliven the bi-partisan argument there was a fair number of Republican journals.[30] Polit-

[28]*Dickson County Press*, May 3, 1883. Other snake stories are: *The Southern Standard*, February 18, 1893; *The Whig and Tribune*, May 16, August 22, 1874; *The Athens Post*, April 10, May 8, 1874. Perhaps the most ridiculous yet harmful snake story was that of the cabbage snake which was described rather freely in the country papers in 1904. It was said that cabbage snakes had infested the cabbage crop in Trousdale, Cheatham, Smith, Franklin, Coffee, and Bedford counties.

[29]June 5, 1874.

[30]The majority of these were published in eastern and northeastern Tennessee. See the listing in Ayers, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*.

ical discussions were always on three levels: local, state, and national. Doubtless the public opinion of the state was swayed, if not shaped, by the editorial policies of the weekly papers. Editors were not above taking a hand in politics themselves, and occasionally they were elected to offices. Whether or not they entered races themselves, editors profited from advertising and printing campaign matter of those who did.

Though the weekly editorials were essentially political in nature, they also dealt with general everyday problems. An old issue which haunted the columns of almost every paper in the South was that of adequate fence laws to regulate the grazing of cattle. Eastern and western Tennessee were open range sections until an increasing population and a more intensified system of farming forced a revolution in the grazing industry. This issue was argued back and forth for two decades. Early in the fight the editor of the Gallatin *Tennesseean* announced his stand in favor of the closed range. "We are depending upon the wisdom assembled at Nashville to adjust the exemption laws to accomplish this end. Come forward Mr. Legislator we'll back you!"[31] Not only did cows and hogs graze on the open range, but they desecrated the sacred precincts of cemeteries, and there was much editorial scolding on this subject. Hogs rooted up the streets of the towns or got into other meanness, and stray cattle wandered into yards and gardens, or stood about in the public's way on the streets, all to the consternation of the editors.[32]

Almost as stubborn as the ever-present cow and hog were the town and county officials. Town officers allowed the streets and sidewalks to deteriorate into mudholes, and county officials neglected the rural roads. Muddy streets and roads were subjects for countless editorials. There was mud in the winter and dust in the summer, while throughout the year there was the problem of hitching racks. Paling fences, public enclosures, trees, warehouse walls, and even public monuments did not escape the ravages of the countryman and his mule. Then there was the careless driver who rushed up to a store, left a small child seated in a buggy or wagon to hold the team while he dashed in to make a purchase or to pick up a parcel of goods. The team ran away, injured the child, frightened other horses, and played havoc in general up and down main streets. Editors scolded and warned against the practice of leaving children

[31]*The Tennessean* (Gallatin), January 11, 1873.

[32]Like all southern country papers those of Tennessee were forever discussing the presence of hogs and cows running loose, or breaking into cemeteries and flower gardens. This whole issue centered around the bigger one of persuading the legislature to pass laws requiring the fencing in of livestock.

to hold teams and against leaving horses untethered with nobody to hold them. Their scolding most often went for naught, for it was a rare Tennessee village which did not have its quota of runaway scrapes every year.[33]

If countrymen were not in town causing havoc with their nervous mules and horses, they were scattered over the countryside having accidents with kerosene lamps and shotguns. The editorial pen was used many times to explain to simple country people that kerosene oil was dangerous. They were warned not to treat it as though it were water, yet people continued to have accidents. Perhaps the old-fashioned brass lamp with its defective burner was as lethal as a shotgun. In Madison County in 1874 Miss Annie Rodman was dressed for church when a lamp exploded in her hands and she was burned to death.[34] On Hurricane Creek in Humphreys County a Mr. and Mrs. Adams were sitting up with a corpse when a lamp exploded and covered them with flaming oil. When the fire was extinguished the man and his wife were dead, and the coffin had been burned from around the corpse.[35] The horror story writers could find in the country papers ample material of a realistic nature which perhaps would exceed their imaginations. The average Tennessee editor and his reporter were realistic people. They appreciated the fact that their readers not only wanted the outline facts, but likewise the specific details. Horrendous stories were never repulsive to the average country reader who was glad to enliven his drab existence with sensational reading.

Often Tennesseans were subjects of exciting news because of accidents with guns. It is unbelievable the number of people who were killed or mained because of sheer childish carelessness in the handling of arms. A husband near Lawrenceburgh thoughtlessly tossed a loaded gun across a rumpled bed, and when his wife started to straighten the covers she accidentally fired it and lost an arm as a result.[36] People were forever pointing "unloaded" guns at friends and members of their families with disastrous results.

But whatever the horrors from accidents, it was an editorial maxim that "Old Tennessee" was the best place in the world in which to live. Perhaps this was largely true because its women were so good looking and warm-hearted. In 1883 Elizabeth Saxon met

[33]Editorials on subjects of community responsibility are to be found in *The New Era*, August 8, 1895; *The Whig and Tribune*, August 29, 1874; *The Hickman Pioneer*, January 25, 1878.

[34]*Whig and Tribune*, August 29, 1874.

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]*Dickson County Press*, November 2, 1882.

the prettiest girls she had ever seen in East and West Tennessee. They had the grace of French females and far surpassed those of both the North and the South. The very rurality of the state, she thought, softened their hearts, freshened their cheeks, and sharpened their wits. Especially was this true of the girls in Lauderdale County, where according to Miss Saxon, they outshown anything the brownstone mansions of the East had to offer. She was proud of Tennessee women such as Laura Holloway of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, Angelius Pergaud of the New Orleans Normal School, and Mrs. Knox Heath of the Boston City Schools.[37]

That Tennessee girls were most attractive no editor denied, and that the state had much in the way of opportunity to offer the native son no editor failed to emphasize. But even so, Tennesseans were great people to move west. Since 1830 Texas and the West had had a fatal attraction for the sons of this state. It was extremely difficult for editors and immigrant organizations to carry on their campaign to attract immigrants to the state when so many people were moving off to Texas. Hundreds of stories and letters were published describing this movement.[38] Usually the editors tried to discourage this loss of population by printing stories none too favorable to the West. It was said by the Pulaski *Citizen* in 1881 that a man and his family were returning from Texas to Lincoln County when they were halted near Pulaski by ill health. The man had a chill which shook the looms in a nearby cotton factory, and he ran across the fields screaming "Murder!" "Fire!" His anguished cries aroused the natives and their dogs. The *Citizen's* editor assured his impressionable readers, "We are not telling this to run down Texas, but simply as a fact. Indeed the man started right toward Texas but he was out of his head."[39] Stories were told of people in Texas who lived off the cash of gullible Tennesseans who had gone to that state as immigrants.[40]

[37]*The New Era*, July 13, 1882.

[38]*The Southern Standard*, March 22, April 5, 1890; *Athens Post*, February 6, 1874; *The Whig and Tribune*, November 14, 1874; and the *Pulaski Citizen*, December 21, 1882.

[39]November 17, 1874. Occasionally some one wrote in high favor of Texas and editors were forced to oblige them by publishing their letters. Such was the following letter appearing in the *New Era*, January 17, 1884: "We who have been here longest," wrote an old Tennessean, "are best satisfied, because we have learned by experience that Texas is far ahead of old Tennessee for a man who has no capital but his muscle and brain to depend upon to make a livlihood for himself and family. Here a man can get all the land he needs to cultivate or to use any way, and that is rich and cheap, but it takes industry and economy here as it did in Tennessee, to do well.. .I have never found the honey pond and fritter tree; but I found almost everything better than I expected. I found better water, better society, better schools, better churches. I tell you Brother Dave. Texas is a Baptist State, and they are strictly speaking missionary Baptist. I have been called by four churches for this year, but have only accepted care of three of them."

[40]Such a one was that appearing in the *Athens Post*, November 20, 1874.

Frustrated people wrote home that they wished they were back there, and if so that they would never again leave for Texas. They described hard work, sickness, rowdiness, and lack of friends. The anti-Texas attitude of the editors was aptly put to rest in a thunderclap of finality by the editor of the McMinnville *Southern Standard* when he wrote:

> The chigger may chig with all his might and the mocking bird may mock and sing, but the Tennessee crop it takes the cake, and the corn, you bet, is king. The crickets may crick and the froglets frog and the farmer sing his strain, for in Tennessee corn is away on top, a result of plenty of rain. The chinch bug may chinch and the grasshopper hop, and the hot winds make you tire, but if any one says there are such things here, just call him a terrible liar. Oklahoma may boom and Texas may howl and Missouri may shoot off her chop, but Tennessee is the place to get a good home and raise a great big crop.[41]

There was no aspect of Tennessee life which did not come under the scrutiny of the country editors. The penitentiary issue, politics, crime, the one-crop system, the fight for industry and new capital, improved roads, education, better social conditions, laws against liquor and pistol toting, trifling public officials, the activities of Congress, and the cussedness of all public people were grist to the weekly mill of the papers. All kinds of public opinion were influenced by this constant pressure of publicity. Life itself was dignified by the essence of printer's ink. No individual or incident was too humble to be given space, and no story was too preposterous to be unacceptable to a large body of weekly readers. Editors prepared their materials for publication with full understanding of the intellectual capacity of their readers. It was never their policy to hold in when they had an opinion, nor to overshoot a reader in the manner in which they made their views known. Historically the badly scattered and broken files of the weekly Tennessee papers are one of the most intimate and continuous sources of information about the state since 1865. These papers tell of the joys of living in Tennessee, and just as often they rattle the skeletons of the dead past with a high degree of human and historical seductiveness.

[41] *The Hickman Pioneer*, June 24, 1874, March 6, 1885; *Pulaski Citizen*, June 20, 1881, November 3, 1881.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The Old Valley: Land of Challenge and Contention

By James W. Livingood*

East Tennessee has frequently been the focus of interest in the course of American history. The dramatic removal of the Indians, the great battles of the Civil War, the Dayton Trial, and the developments of the Tennessee Valley Authority have been events of national importance. But on the whole the area is relatively unknown. Except for the work of the late Judge Samuel Cole Williams, Professor Stanley Folmsbee and his students at the University of Tennessee, and the recent volumes by Donald Davidson of Vanderbilt University in the *Rivers of America* Series, the plow of historical research has turned few furrows here.

This article represents an effort to present in synthesis a brief account of the major historical developments in this area before the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933. Although in many respects it is a study of America in microcosm, certain factors produced unusual developments of both local and national importance.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the farthest westward push of the white settler on any section of the frontier was on the upper tributaries of the Tennessee River. Since the first settlement in 1768 at the Watauga Old Field, accretions to the population had settled in the valleys of the Holston, the Watauga, and the Nolichucky. A miniature melting pot representing English, Scotch-Irish, German, Irish, Welsh, and Huguenots was in the making.[1] But they were not direct immigrants. Rather, they were the typical two or three generation Americans usually found in the vanguard of civilization.

The Valley of East Tennessee into which they moved is an extension of the Shenandoah Valley and, like it, is a part of the great trough which parallels the highlands from Pennsylvania to Georgia. Through it the Indian trails led and the Great Road from Virginia bore the mark of families on the move. Two nearly parallel mountain ranges, the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, virtually

*This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held at Rock Island, Illinois, April 22, 1948.

[1]Samuel Cole Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Nashville, 1944), 3.

excluded people from eastern Virginia and the Carolinas from competing for what looked like "good country" at this time.

In the numerous fertile valleys and coves which scored the topography of upper East Tennessee these folks settled without any aid from the government. In fact, it was very uncertain as to whether the area was under the jurisdiction of Virginia or North Carolina. In near isolation behind mountain ramparts the settlers went about their business of hewing, plowing, and planting. At the beginning of the Revolution there were but two merchants in the Tennessee country. Corn, pigs, and cattle were the chief exchange items. Fortified stations stood as harbors of protection in case of Indian trouble, while Taylor's meeting house near the site of Blountville was the only prepared harbor for the soul. A future which challenged their expansionist minds and hardy dreams lay ahead.

Undoubtedly the river pointed the way ahead, but it was a stream of inconsistency and many unknown beds, shoals, and sawyers. The Tennessee River had dug out a devious path for itself: "being cramped for room it was obliged, like a tall man in a spare bed, to coil up."[3] From the junction of the French Broad and Holston rivers the main stream flows south, west, and north for 652 miles to the Ohio. In its upper reaches the waters of many tributaries pyramid together, draining the fertile bottom lands and high ridges of the parallel valleys. Then, in its southwestwardly course, it moves through the valley of East Tennessee flanked to the east by the high Unaka chain and on the west by the Cumberland plateau. These table lands rise abruptly to elevations above 2,000 feet with bold cliffs along the brow that wall in the valley and virtually prevent any east to west passage across the area. At the present site of Chattanooga the stream sharply turns from its apparent course southward into a mountain canyon which carries it through the Cumberland highlands. In this section it was described as "foaming, boiling, and roaring, in its frantic struggle to find an outlet to the lower country." This stretch of about twenty miles was known as "the Narrows" in early days, but certain features of it were given more colorful names as the Suck, Boiling Pot, Skillet, and Tumbling Shoals. Here the constriction of the river by rocky mountain walls and a peculiar rock formation in the bed produced near deterrents to upstream navigation and made downstream travel dangerous.

After resuming its southwestward course, the river flows on for approximately 100 miles to where Guntersville now stands. There

[3] *Chattanooga Times*, June 12, 1877. This description was used by Major W.R. King of the U. S. Engineers.

the Tennessee flirts with the headwaters of the Gulf-flowing Black Warrior River but again contrarily abandons its way for a westward course across northern Alabama to plunge into the Muscle Shoals area where for some forty miles the river fell more than three and one half feet per mile. Rapids and reefs, rocks and whirling water made the Muscle Shoals a much greater barrier than the Narrows. Beyond this turbulent area the Tennessee again chose to run counter to what appeared natural. Rather than seek the Gulf at a third opportunity or join the Mississippi, the stream flows northward to the Ohio.

In addition to the two major obstructions and the circuitous route, numerous bars and ledges impeded navigation as did uncertainties of depth resulting from seasonal variation in rainfall and rapid run-off. Davidson scarcely exaggerate when he says, "To get up and down the Tennessee one needed not only to combine the virtues of the horse and alligator, but to add something of the frog, snapping turtle, raccoon, buffalo, and shikepoke."[3]

The valley of the Tennessee is not a unit but three distinct districts. In the east is the upland region of Tennessee; the middle course at the Great Bend borders the deep cotton South, while the lower river flows through a border land toward the open prairies of the West. These divisions make the history of the area most complex and make advisable a narrowing of this article to but one of the divisions—the Upper or East Tennessee Valley. This region is in the South but not of the South. It is a narrow hill and vale country varying in width from approximately fifty-five miles in the north to thirty-four in the South.

Obstacles to navigation here presented more difficult problems of transportation than were found on other western rivers, and, along with the mountainous borders, caused conditions of extreme isolation. Such a situation made it possible for the Indians to remain in the more secluded parts of the narrow valley and its neighboring mountains longer than in other areas east of the Mississippi. Trade with the Cherokees had early attracted both the French and British, but ingress into the area was difficult for the former because of Muscle Shoals and the Narrows while the British coastal centers were to the east of the Appalachians. But the traders from Carolina, especially those operating out of Charleston, made persistent attempts to develop this trade while serving as the diplomatic agents for the British at the same time. The high water mark of their activity

[3]Donald Davidson, *The Tennessee, I, The Old River: Frontier to Secession* (New York, 1946), 7.

came with the building of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee in the very heart of the Cherokee country. But in three years this isolated post in the green mountains fell before the attack of the Cherokees, who, encouraged by the French, were becoming restless under the growing contacts with the settlers.

The same year Loudoun fell Daniel Boone visited Watauga and left his famous legend carved on a beech tree. New settlers soon followed, moving into the northeastern section. The Indians found the pressure from these pioneers almost irresistible, although the Proclamation of 1763 theoretically reserved the region as Indian country. Before the Revolutionary War a number of treaties were made calling for land sales, culminating in 1775 in Judge Richard Henderson's purchase which was made with a view of launching his astonishing Transylvania Colony. This sale was too much for the younger element of the tribe who, under the impulsive Dragging Canoe, organized themselves as a semi-independent group known as the Chickamaugas. They soon moved into the mountain district along the turbulent waters of the Narrows. Here, led by British agents, they had a natural bastion that controlled the river. From this position a web of international intrigue was spun and the bloody fingers of the war reached out toward the frantic settlements. Retaliation brought rear guard action of the Revolution into the Indian retreat, but no decisive result was achieved.

National independence did not alter the picture. Spanish agents stepped in to replace the British in the South while contacts were made with Henry Hamilton in the Old Northwest. Defiance and ceaseless raiding continued, but the pioneer frontier pushed on while its political organization went through a metamorphosis from the Watauga Association through the State of Franklin and the Southwest Territory to statehood in 1796 for Tennessee. Indian troubles continued under the new Constitution as the federal government followed a conciliatory policy fearful of agitating the delicate Spanish relations of the period. In direct defiance to this policy, settlers from the Cumberland settlements, assisted by recruits from Kentucky, took the challenge in their own hands. In September, 1794, they administered a total defeat to the Chickamaugas; from letters found they learned that Spain had advised the Indians that they could no longer give aid because of troubles produced by the French wars. On their way home the frontiersmen learned of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers to which their efforts were a southern parallel. The web of international intrigue would no longer be spun in the valley; tomahawk diplomacy was a thing of the past. As the

remnant of the Chickamaugas filtered back into the Cherokee group, peace came to the valley.

The federal policy had had an ameliorating effect on the Cherokees. Although this tribe gradually retreated before the pressure of white settlement in the upper valley, they continued to live by the Tennessee River until removed in 1838. Frontier contacts, educational and spiritual activities of missionaries, and the large number of intelligent whites who had married into the tribe were contributing factors in their amazing progress. So, too, was the Federal Road built through the Nation connecting Augusta, Georgia, with both Nashville and South West Point (Kingston), for along this road moved ideas as well as goods and mail. By 1826 the Cherokees possessed 22,000 cattle, 7,600 horses, 46,000 swine, 2,500 sheep, 762 looms, 2,488 spinning wheels, 172 wagons, 2,942 ploughs, 10 saw mills, 31 grist mills, 62 blacksmith shops, 8 cotton machines, 18 schools, 18 ferries, and a number of public roads, and one district alone had upwards of 1,000 books.[4]

But this was not all. In 1827 the Cherokees began the publication of a national newspaper in their native language, the characters of which had been worked out by the unschooled but scholarly Sequoyah. Political advancement kept pace with the economic and social growth. A written constitution, modeled after that of the United States providing for an executive, a two-house legislature, and a judicial system was adopted. In 1828 John Ross became the principal chief and soon gained national recognition as he led the fight on behalf of the Cherokees to resist removal.

Both the virtues and the vices of the pioneer settlers added pressure against the redman, while in the White House President Jackson was frozen in his thinking on the issue of removal. In Congress Senator Benton said the speeches "were characterized by a depth and bitterness of feeling such as have never been excelled in the slavery question."[5] Final ratification of the removal treaty by the United States Senate which led to the "Trail of Tears" was obtained by only one vote. In the valley of the Tennessee the Cherokees had made a consistent stand. They were ennobled by deep attachment to their native homeland and their progress toward civilization. They had attempted to meet the challenging issue of their day; but elements whose estimation of Indian virtues were weighed on different scales had finally wrested the whole valley from the redman who left behind only a legacy of colorful place names.

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[4]*Niles' Weekly Register*, XXX, 143.

[5]Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, 2 vols. (New York, 1854-1856), I,625.

During these years settlement in the valleys of the upper tributaries continued. About the time Tennessee became a state the eight counties in the eastern division of the state gave a census return of 65,338, but the 1820 census showed only 135,312. The increase was thus comparatively small for a frontier area and could not rival the rapid growth in the Cumberland area. Many of the newcomers either turned away northward up the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap to answer the lure of Kentucky or moved to the Nashborough community. The presence of the Indian in the southeastern part of the state and the difficulties of river transportation prevented all but a few bold souls from using the Tennessee to migrate beyond. Some, like the famed Donelson party, tried the river in the winter of 1779-80. This party, including the fifteen year old Rachel Donelson who later married Andrew Jackson, were on the way from December 22 to April 24, journeying from Fort Patrick Henry on the Holston to Nashville on the Cumberland.

During these years East Tennesseeans were almost completely dependent on overland trade with Richmond, Baltimore, and Philadelphia for the sale and purchase of goods. Droves moved in the direction of these centers as well as toward Charleston, South Carolina. Some did try the river; whiskey, bar iron, bacon, line, and flour make up the bulk of their cargoes which left with a "tide" from the upper regions to gamble with the Narrows and Muscle Shoals and spend many days on the 2,000 mile trip to New Orleans, always mindful that their contrary river frequently ran in the wrong direction.[8]

These marketing conditions made the establishment of a progressive economy difficult. Domestic industry with its requirements for toil served only a low level of living. Credit was difficult to obtain and barter was frequently used. Socially and psychologically this isolation was reflected in a provincialism that still prevails. Likewise, this lack of convenient markets had its effect upon agriculture which was the basic way of life. In 1823 one traveler found "a system of miserable husbandry" which he attributed to the isolation existing in the area. On the other hand isolation did contribute to small developments of the iron industry and tanning along with processing activities to reduce bulky commodities to their lightest weight. Moreover, as a result of its isolation East Tennessee was ever conscious of the need for improvements in transportation. The American System of Henry Clay and the Whig party program

[8]William F. Rogers, "Life in East Tennessee Near the End of Eighteenth Century," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 27-42.

sounded good to the ears of a majority of the inhabitants.

Naturally they turned first to the improvement of their river and to visionary schemes to get "short cuts" to the south. East Tennessee became a stronghold for state aid as well as federal aid sentiment. Their plans ran from channel improvements to thoughts of connecting the Tennessee with the Tombigbee or to a canal or road across the mountains of East Tennessee to link the upper tributaries of the Hiwassee with those of the Coosa, a branch of the Alabama River. This interest in the river was raised to fever pitch when the steamboat *Atlas* docked at Knoxville on March 3, 1828. Captain J. D. Conner was the first master to bring his boat safely through the Muscle Shoals and the Narrows.

While Knoxville interests were preparing to launch regular steamboat service, Tennessee enacted an appropriation bill in 1830 which provided funds to improve parts of the river. East Tennessee had pulled for such schemes for a long time but was thwarted because some said the federal government should aid; others noted that the state was poor and enjoyed but small proceeds from sales of public lands. However, the main difficulty had been sectional jealousies within the state as its three geographical regions grew into three natural political divisions.[7]

But the Tennessee River did not enjoy the prosperous river trade that came during these steamboat years on other western rivers. Numerous steamers did appear on the upper Tennessee, but for lack of water the navigation season was limited to the months from November to June. Furthermore, when steamboats did ascend the Muscle Shoals, few ever went below again but remained on local runs on the stream above, usually managing to pass through the Narrows but not without danger, delay, and damage.

Some cold water was thrown on the enthusiasm for steamboats when the first one arrived in Knoxville. Dr. J.G.M. Ramsey, whose historical writings are still authoritative for early Tennessee, was selected to address the crowd. He took the occasion to point out that East Tennessee had to look to some form of "land communication" for her destiny. Shortly after, the railroad fever which was spreading in certain eastern areas leaped into this region. An "Association of Gentlemen" in little Rogersville expressed the extent of this interest in their bi-weekly newspaper, the *Rail-Road Advocate,* which was published from July 4, 1831, to June 14, 1832, and had the distinction of being the first such journal in America.[8]

[7]Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee,* 1796-1845 (Knoxville, 1939), *passim.*

[8]*Ibid.,* 88-89.

The people of the area were also deeply interested in what was going on at Muscle Shoals, where a company, incorporated by Alabama in 1830, was constructing the first railroad west of the Appalachians. Two years later the original project was widened into the Tuscumbia, Courtland and Decatur Railroad Company, an organization that had a road almost forty-three miles long in operation by the beginning of 1835. Back in East Tennessee another project took shape when the Hiwassee Railroad was chartered in 1836 to thread a line through the valley from Knoxville to a point on the southern boundary of the state.

Meanwhile outside interests were thinking of bigger plans. The cotton South was in need of the corn, pork, and other country produce of East Tennessee. If the supply area could not reach the consumer, then why shouldn't the demand region plan internal improvements? Momentum came chiefly from Charleston, South Carolina, which was feeling the pinch of cotton's westward march. Their plan was to enter the area through the mountain passes into northeastern Tennessee. But the people of Georgia were also interested in railroads at this time and won the race into the valley by routing their line around the southern shoulder of the Appalachians to the Tennessee River at Chattanooga. The Western and Atlantic Railroad was the capsheaf of their system, which tied in with the South Carolina lines. In 1850 this state-owned road linked Chattanooga with Atlanta, and the Tennessee Valley had through rail contact with the port cities of Savannah and Charleston. Although often overlooked in our general histories, this was the first railroad system from the coast to reach a tributary of the Mississippi River.

The success of the Western and Atlantic spurred on other railroad activity and within ten years Chattanooga was one of the most important rail junctions in the South with trains arriving from Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta, and Knoxville, and through service available to such cities as Louisville, Kentucky, and Richmond, Virginia, not to mention the southern coastal centers.[9] Where the river had failed the iron horse had succeeded. The Tennessee River became a feeder for this new medium of transportation which stimulated new economic hope for the region and especially for the recently developed town of Chattanooga.

One of the first settlers to come to the latter community wrote that he selected that site because it was a spot where the corn and

[9] J. W. Livingood, "Chattanooga: A Rail Junction of the Old South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, VI, No. 3 (September, 1947), 230-250.

cotton country met. Now his idea was justified. By 1860 the community, although claiming but about 3,500 people, represented what was later to be termed "the new South." Railroading and steamboat bills of lading occupied their minds and industry had also taken hold. *The Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory* published that year lists an iron furnace and an "extensive foundry and machine shop," a rolling mill under construction, a planing mill, one tannery, a distillery, and two flour mills. There were also two pork packing houses and six commission merchants, two carriage and wagon makers, and a marble worker who advertised that his work was done "at northern prices." Two banks and three weekly newspapers were also doing business.

While agriculture remained the main source of livelihood throughout the valley, processing plants, small iron works, coal and iron mining, and marble quarrying were going ahead although most were in their formative stage. On the rim of the region, mining of copper began at Ducktown, Tennessee, in 1850 amid scenes similar to those of a great gold rush. By 1860 it is estimated that 1,000 employees were working in this business.[10]

On the whole, the valley's population did not grow rapidly. Like other southern areas it was shunned because of the slavery issue and the greater attractiveness of western soils. But in East Tennessee there was a strong Union tradition rather than a loyalty to sectionalism. The old Whig party had been vigorous here where slaves were relatively few. When the great issue broke with the election of 1860, the region voted for Bell. In two state referenda on secession, it voted twice for the Union by a wide majority, the last time on June 8, 1861, after the fall of Fort Sumter. Even after the state left the Union a futile effort was launchd to permit East Tennessee to withdraw from the state.[11]

The section then resorted to other methods. East Tennessee sent an amazingly large number of her sons into the Federal army. Unionists at home began efforts to obstruct Confederate war plans while the Confederate sympathizers, who were a minority but who possessed a great deal of influence and power, fought back in desperate civil strife that was a class warfare in character and which led to early Confederate occupation of the valley. The local fighting between Lincolnites and Rebels was bad enough, but the region was destined to play more than a local role in the war. Chattanooga's

[10]R. E. Barclay, *Ducktown: Back in Raht's Time* (Chapel Hill, 1946), 31, 86.

[11]Verton M. Queener, "East Tennessee Sentiment and the Secession Movement, November, 1860-June, 1861," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 20 (1948), 59-83.

junction facilities and the long rail arms which reached out to link the Tennessee Valley with the port cities made it a controlling point of southern supply. The bloody battle of Chickamauga, the siege and important victory at Chattanooga, along with the siege of Knoxville made the whole area a scene of mighty operations.

Bushwhacking and guerilla activities continued after these engagements, egged on in the upper valley by the bitter, Federally supported press of Parson Brownlow. Chattanooga, which remained a Union supply base, "grew suddenly old"; engineers and quartermasters became the town's new architects.

Economically the valley suffered severely. Livestock was depleted, movable property was carried off, barns and houses burned. The foraging operations of the armies left the food and stock supply scant, and inflated prices made purchase impossible for most people. However, since the Unionists were in control, gifts and aid from many parts of the nation to such organizations as the East Tennessee Relief Association alleviated conditions which were most desperate in the northern part of the valley. By 1865 progress had been made to put the valley on the road to economic recovery, although bitterness between neighbors frequently revealed itself as in the pension issue when Federal veterans received pensions while their neighbors who were ex-Confederates had only the privilege of paying taxes.[12]

A depleted population and lack of capital were the greatest factors of adversity to be faced. Tennessee like other southern states began bidding for economic carpetbaggers to develop industrial enterprises. Governor Brownlow made an initial plan in 1865 and two years later a State Board of Immigration was created which published a book on the attractions of the state in which East Tennessee received most attention. Among other things it said that the people of East Tennessee had "come to the conclusion that they are too poor to do without manufactures," for an over-emphasis on agriculture was making them "poorer every day."

Towns in the valley keenly supported this program. For a time in 1868 *The Daily Republican* of Chattanooga carried an invitation which read in part: "those who wish to come can be assured that they will NOT BE REQUIRED TO RENOUNCE THEIR POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS TENETS, as the jurisdiction of the Ku Klux and other vermin does not extend over these parts." This announcement was addressed particularly to "those having capital, brains, or muscle. . . ." The Knoxville Industrial Association

[12]James B. Campbell, "East Tennessee During the Federal Occupation, 1863-65," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 19 (1947), 64-80.

issued a similar bid in 1869, stressing the fact that East Tennessee was more peaceful and quiet than the rest of the state.

These invitations were not unanswered. Many soldiers who had campaigned through the valley were attracted by its natural beauty and economic potential. Veterans of both Union and Confederate armies, who were mainly young men, settled together. They were natives of many localities as is demonstrated by a check of the 1878 census of Chattanooga. The adult male population of the town hailed from all but four states then existing and from nineteen foreign countries. Although the newcomers engaged in various activities the principal drawing card was the mineral wealth. Ducktown saw the copper mines reopened to produce approximately twenty-four million pounds of copper between 1866 and 1878.[18] But the greatest interest was focused on the iron industry.

Among the leaders in this field was the ex-Federal officer, John T. Wilder, under whose trained eye the Roane Iron Company was incorporated in 1867 at Rockwood with a capital of $100,000. Three years later this organization purchased a foundry which had been built at Chattanooga by the Union army to reroll twisted railroad iron. In this Chattanooga plant the first steel made in the South was produced, and in 1887 the first Bessemer furnace in the same area was blown in. Other large operations begun shortly after the war were the Knoxville Iron Company, headed by another Union officer, the Chattanooga Furnace, launched by Nashville capitalists, and the Southern States Coal, Iron, and Land Company which, chartered in 1875 by English capitalists, had three furnaces in blast by 1888 at the newly developed town optimistically named South Pittsburg.

By 1878 the people of Chattanooga recognized that the vanguard of the New South was in their midst. In their annual fourth of July celebration the floats of a parade told the story. The first float noted "Cotton was King," the second heralded, "Iron is King Now," while a third announced, "Coal is Prime Minister."

In the next decade three other companies were organized. The Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company started its furnace at Cowan; the Citico Furnace at Chattanooga was blown in; and Scots financed the Dayton furnaces. Small and, by comparison, primitive operations continued throughout the valley on a pre-war scale. Coal and iron lands were eagerly sought and "prospectors from Pittsburgh" registered frequently at the hotels. Various allied industries also were started, especially those to fabricate the pig iron and lumber of the valley. Interest in new rail lines ran high, especially in regard

[18]Barclay, *Ducktown*, 155.

to the construction of the Cincinnati Southern by the city of Cincinnati from that city to Chattanooga.

But the furnaces never made great profits. In the 90's only two new ones were completed.[14] The big boom in the valley was over by then. A speculative real estate boom in Chattanooga started the decline, but more important were the facts that the local ores failed to possess the qualities needed for making steel and that the rich Birmingham district just opened set such a high competitive pace that the efforts in the valley were defeated.

Thus the bottom was knocked out of the optimism which had brought so much confidence to the valley and which had constantly been voiced by the journals of such publishers as Adolph S. Ochs. But there had been positive results. Impetus had been given the economy of East Tennessee. Towns like Knoxville and Chattanooga had grown into cities. Other industries, more remunerative than iron, had been established. One person who had grown up in a family devoted to the iron industry and who is himself a retired leader in that field recently wrote: "So well established was the progress throughout the district that the subsequent blowing out of East Tennessee's furnaces at intervals affected only the communities in which they were situated and had small effect on the general welfare."[15]

Even more important was the climate of understanding and tolerance which came to the area and put it very early on the "road to reunion." This was no doubt easier than in other parts of the South, for Tennessee had suffered little from the political debacle of Reconstruction. But in pioneering a New South the newcomers in the region forged a community spirit with the residents. Prejudices weren't surrendered immediately, but the hum of industry in the towns forced an amelioration of feeling as cooperation was essential to the business world. These diluted differences in economic life soon had their social and political influences. John T. Wilder expressed the full meaning of industrialism in East Tennessee in an address in 1884. Speaking of Chattanooga, although his remarks would have applied to other parts as well, he said: "One's politics, religion or section is not called into question here. This is the freest town on the map. All join together here for the general good and strive, to a man, for the upbuilding of the city." Such was the feeling of a former Federal officer who had directed an early cannonading of the city about which he spoke.

[14]Morrow Chamberlain, *A Brief History of the Pig Iron Industry of East Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1942). All above references to this industry are taken from this study.
[15]*Ibid.*, 28.

Buoyant years, years of hope and faith in country and self, years of busy toil in building made many spots in East Tennessee look like Yankee-land. In their effort to master their environment, bitter issues and memories of the people were mended in the cloth of activity. One example of this can be found in the names of two colleges in the area; certainly no other locality in the South could have had in the 1890's anything similar. At the upper end of the valley was Lincoln Memorial University while at Athens and Chattanooga were the branches of the U.S. Grant University sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Of course no Utopia was created. Isolation's grip on the area was and still is relatively strong. In the narrow coves and mountain rim, the influences of materialism rarely penetrated. Provincialism continued to breed distrust for any outsider; it still nourished such a strict and narrow adherence to religious fundamentalism that the Dayton Trial was a natural phenomenon. In certain sections Republicanism has always been an exception in the generally solid South. Many are the miles of intolerable roads which separate family from church, doctor, and school. Many are the good people who still rely on native ability alone to see them through life.

Most of these conditions are found in areas of poor soil which itself spells out the word poverty. Since they practiced the worst kind of land butchery, the farmers' soil grew worse. The muddy waters of the rivers of the valley were East Tennessee in solution, for many were the spots where the old story of the wife's looking up the chimney to see if her man was still plowing on the overhanging hill was but little exaggerated.

As mill and shop drew labor from the rural areas into the urban centers the impact of their social, cultural, and religious ways frequently left strange results that other regions scorn or smirk about without a realization of the real forces behind them. The large number of cultists and eccentric happenings which have flourished here, when embroidered, as they usually are, sound like "tall tales" from the roaring frontier.

But through all this the people of the valley never lost sight of a hope they found in the river, although railroads and later highway developments reduced its importance as a carrier. In a memorial drawn up in 1877 and presented to the federal government, they said of the Tennessee River: "It binds together all by the ligaments of commerce, and the work of its improvement, therefore, can be no less national in character than that which guards against national

foe."[16] Even then the government was at work on a new Muscle Shoals canal which was completed in 1890. But this project was not a satisfactory solution and the leaders of the region, led by Chattanooga business men who desired better navigation and who also wished to bring down rail rates, organized the Tennessee River Improvement Association.

Through their efforts constant attention was focused on the problem when still another idea added its weight to the call for river control—the idea of hydroelectric power. Beginning in 1898 efforts were made in Congress to get a dam or dams at Muscle Shoals to combine navigation and power developments. Chattanooga had the Narows in mind for a similar improvement. At the latter point a dam authorized in 1903 was completed ten years later as a combined effort of private and governmental interests. Known as the Hales Bar Dam it was leased for ninety-nine years to the Tennessee Electric Power Company with title resting with the government.

Meanwhile the Muscle Shoals project didn't get past the talking stage, and it was not until the First World War that it was started as a national defense measure. In 1926 Wilson Dam was completed. It immediately became the center of a struggle as the government put it to no use and private interests eagerly sought control. From 1921 to 1933, when the Tennessee Valley Authority was created, 138 Muscle Shoals bills were introduced in Congress.[17] Although navigation facilities had been improved by the two dams, the river was still the subject of stormy controversy. Contention and challenge which have been mighty forces in the shaping of the history of this isolated section of our country were thus still active when the Tennessee Valley Authority was launched.

[16]J. H. Alldredge, *et al., A History of Navigation on the Tennessee River System, House Documents*, 75 Cong. 1 sess., No. 254 (Washington, 1937), 98.

[17]Donald Davidson, *The Tennessee, II, The New River: Civil War to TVA* (New York, 1948), 188.

NEITHER PEACE NOR WAR: CONDITIONS IN TENNESSEE IN 1865

By Thomas B. Alexander

The Civil War was ended for East and Middle Tennessee after General John B. Hood's shattering defeat before the Nashville fortifications at Christmas, 1864. West Tennessee was subject to Confederate cavalry raids for another few months; but after the surrender of Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston in April, all formal war ceased throughout the state. During the year in which the people of Tennessee were trying to re-establish conditions of peace, various complications made each step more difficult. The inevitable disruptions left in the wake of battling armies were augmented by the problems of Negro orientation to an entirely new and different status. The best efforts of all, applied in a spirit of understanding and charity, could have made only slow progress toward order and stability; but passions were inflamed and a spirit of vindictiveness added its weight to the crushing burdens of the people.

Large numbers of men from the state served in each army. Casualties were high on both sides and death from sickness plagued every regiment in the field. Survival often meant no more than a reprieve because sichness or weakened bodies were all too often the cause of premature death. Amputations were the only defense against severe infections, and a very high percentage of veterans were maimed or otherwise rendered unfit for the heavy physical labor involved in rural reconstruction. The result of these conditions was a large percentage of families without men, or at least without men able to work. From one end of the state to the other the suffering of bereavement was buried under desperate efforts to substain homes.

The retaining by the United States of prisoners of war meant an additional denial of man power for rebuilding Confederate homes. Many of these prisoners were acutely needed by their families. Governor William G. Brownlow was petitioned repeatedly in behalf of such prisoners. Citizens of Hamilton County sent a petition requesting release of one Thomas McPherson, prisoner at Camp Morton, Indiana. Reciting typical circumstances, the letter read: "This family needs his services badly at home. He is a Rebel, but we believe he will keep his Oath. It is at the urgent

solicitation of his wife that we write you this brief note. . . ."[1] A distracted wife in Jonesboro wrote to Thomas A. R. Nelson pleading for his compassion and assistance in gaining the release from prison of her husband, who had taken a civil office under the Confederacy to avoid conscription for field service. She reported that she and her small children were suffering complete destitution.[2] From Fort Delaware came a letter stating, "I have served in the Confederate Army as Surgeon of a Regiment three years. I would bear my confinement patiently if my family were well, but the thought that my wife is dying and I cannot be with her, is killing me. I have signified my desire to take the Oath of Allegiance and if required I can give bond when I reach Pulaski. . . ."[3]

For those who did reach home, whether Federals or Confederates, ruin and destruction were evident on every hand. Burned residences, barns, and fences were noticeable in many places. The trails of armies across the state were clearly visible. Railroads and roads were in such a state of disrepair as to be impassible at points, and bridges were seldom in usable condition. Abandoned land was everywhere evident, and farm stock and implements were extremely scarce.[4]

Where houses were found standing, it was unlikely that they would be comfortable. Theft and wreckage took most of the household conveniences that did not wear out first. Great numbers were reduced to the crudest form of living. Food supplies were extremely difficult to obtain at any price, and the financial resources of many Confederates were swept away with the repudiation of Confederate currency and securities. In remote districts thousands actually perished from slow starvation.[5]

Agricultural recovery was hampered not only by the great shortage of physical equipment but also by the shortage of labor. In addition to the war casualties which had reduced man power

[1]R. J. Gaines to Brownlow, June 8, 1865, William G. Brownlow Papers (Tennessee State Library, Nashville). Hereinafter cited as Brownlow Papers. Research for this paper was aided by a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

[2]Mrs. Sarah Meek to Colonel Nelson, April 19, 1865, Thomas A. R. Nelson Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). Hereinafter cited as Nelson Papers.

[3]Dr. C. C. Abernathy to Brownlow, May 8, 1865, Brownlow Papers.

[4]See particularly: Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction,* 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1906-1907), I, 3-4; Robert Somers, *The Southern States since the War* (New York, 1871), 114-15; John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State,* 1769-1923, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1923), 527; Hiliary A. Herbert, *Why the Solid South? or Reconstruction and its Results* (Baltimore, 1890), 29; Samuel G. French, *Two wars, an Autobiography* (Nashville, 1901), *passim*; Robert S. Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (Indianapolis, 1938), 18-25.

[5]See Whitelaw Reid, "The Wear and Tear of War" (in Fleming, *Doc. Hist.,* I, 11); and Will T. Hale, *History of DeKalb County, Tennessee* (Nashville, 1915), 248-50. For an excellent summary of the cost of war to the South in general see E. Merton Coulter. *The South During Reconstruction,* 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge, 1947), 1-22.

sharply, there was a wholesale desertion of rural areas by the Negroes. In mass they swarmed into the towns and left those in need of farm workers without recourse. Most of the counties in the state suffered an actual decrease of population for the decade while the cities (Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Columbia, Pulaski, and the Memphis area) experienced a sharp increase. There is every reason to believe that this situation was more acute in 1865 than in 1870 since many of the Negroes returned to the farms between 1866 and 1870. Some Negroes did agree to work crops, but even these tended to prove unfaithful to their contracts and to desert the crop before harvest and join the mobs in the cities. Cotton was left unpicked in many areas from lack of hands. The direct cotton tax of from two and one-half to three cents a pound—a tax which took from the cotton farmers of the South nearly seventy million dollars between 1865 and 1868—added its burden to the economic situation. Futhermore, government cotton "agents" confiscated or stole stupendous amounts of cotton that was legitimate private property.[6]

The rural regions were infested with guerrilla bands, which preyed on Unionists and Confederates alike. These desperados practically controlled some communities. Rural families never knew when they might be visited by such a band. One girl in East Tennessee wrote her cousin, "Major Love, Willie and I were sitting in the Parlor last night, Willie was thumping on the piano, and some one knocked at the window blinds. The first thought was bushwhackers of course. . . .[7] Another recorded in her diary that a young girl had been killed by guerrillas when she tried to interfere in the beating of her father. "It is awful, no one is safe, not even in their own homes," she noted.[8]

At the opposite end of the state the spring flood of the Mississippi placed the inhabitants of the flood plain in desperate straits. Their normal course was to flee to the bluffs, but guerrilla bands made such a course impossible.[9] Some of these bands became very large and ravaged several counties. The newspapers

[6]Walter L. Fleming, *Sequel of Appomattox* (New Haven, 1919), 11, stated that the estimate of 3,000,000 bales seized, most of it illegally (the figure given by the Ku Klux committee minority report), is too high but is close enough to indicate the enormous frauds perpetrated. See also Coulter, *South During Reconstruction*, 9-10.

[7]Mary Caldwell to Carrie Stakely, June 18, 1865, Hall-Stakely Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[8]Reminiscences of Alfred Buffat and Mrs. Elisa (Bolli) Buffat, March 16, 1865. Manuscript copy in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library. Hereinafter cited as Buffat Diary. A group known as "Sizemore's Band" terrified the inhabitants of Morristown and vicinity. Mrs. Cora Brooks, History of Morristown, Tennessee (typewritten copy in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[9]Nashville *Daily Press*, March 14, 1865.

of 1865 were filled with accounts of their activities.[10] To read that forty or fifty guerrillas wrecked a Louisville and Nashville train at Glasgow Junction and robbed the passengers was no occasion for surprise.[11]

In addition to the depredations of the guerrilla bands, an ordinary crime wave swept the state in the spring of 1865, making life and property unsafe in cities as well as in more remote dwellings. The newspapers reported every day crimes that had no direct connection with the war or its issues. Petitions reached Governor Brownlow from several places praying establishment of civil government or military police to control lawlessness.[12] Conditions showed no signs of improvement even by the fall of 1865, and in November the governor addressed a special message to the general assembly demanding immediate action. He reported that Nashville's reputation was humiliating; that murders, robberies, and burglaries were the order of the day; that no man was safe day or night within radius of eight or ten miles of Nashville; and that the same situation existed for all the larger cities and towns of the state. Brownlow attributed the wave to intoxicating spirits and "gambling hells to be found in full blast on every street."[13]

The situation in Nashville was discussed in an unusual editorial entitled "The Transition State of Nashville." The city was full of objectionable people and a transient spirit always shrugged at crime waves, suggested the editor. California, he pointed out, had the same problem, and those desiring permanent residence handled the matter through the Vigilance Committee which "took crime by the throat and strangled it, giving the control of affairs into the hands of the better element of society." The growth of a home sentiment was desired by the editor in order better to grapple with the crime which "always grows out of and remains behind a great army, like the sediment after a flood."[14]

The Federal occupation forces were in themselves a source of considerable trouble. Loyal citizens of Chattanooga and vicinity petitioned the governor to protect the people against numerous thieves and outlaws, some of whom claimed to have authority from the United States government, and who combined to steal, burn, and destroy the property and threaten the lives of peaceable citizens who had reported them. These petitioners prayed that the governor would join efforts with the military authorities of the

[10]For a detailed account of the state's infested condition see Nashville *Daily Union*, April 7, 1865.

[11]Nashville *Daily Press*, March 16, 1865.

[12]An unusully revealing petition was that of April 21, 1865, Brownlow Papers.

[13]Brownlow to General Assembly, November 22, 1865, *ibid.*

[14]Nashville *Daily Union*, March 7, 1865.

state to have these lawless soldiers removed to their respective regiments.[15]

Memphis was having its own difficulties with the occupation forces. The army there was engaging in many types of unusual activity. Ex-Confederates who had taken the amnesty oath before the end of the war were forced to serve as military guards against their comrades still in arms; judges, court officers, jurors, witnesses, and counsels were drafted; and taxes were assessed and collected without authority from the President of the United States or from the Secretary of War.[16] Memphis did not get a civil government until July 3, 1865.[17]

Nashville was no exception to this problem. In Edgefield, a suburb of the city, a crime wave persisted for months. These crimes were reputedly due entirely to soldiers who were allowed to leave their command at pleasure "to seek whom they may devour." After frantic protests from the citizens of that area, a patrol guard was established in Edgefield. Two days later the following letter was printed in a local paper:

> Dear Sir: I desire asking information, through the columns of your most excellent paper, whether there are any patrol guards in Edgefield, at night, and if said patrols have instructions to challenge persons and demand their money. This habit is not only occasionally practiced, but is done every night.[18]

The staunchest Union paper in the city reported that robberies were committed in the vicinity of Nashville almost every day by men clothed in the national uniform.[19]

On March 10, 1865, Provost Order Number 45 was published requiring all "government employees" to remain in barracks or quarters after nine P.M.[20] That very night two residences on the Dickerson Pike were broken into and sacked by a party of soldiers, and two days later a fight ensued between drunken soldiers and Negroes on the Gallatin Pike well after the curfew.[21] A typical account of rural depredations was one of May 12, relating how three men of the Second Tennessee United States Mounted Infan-

[15]Petition to Brownlow, March 18, 1865, Brownlow Papers. A petition from D. C. Trewhitt, R. Henderson, and T. R. Stanley to Andrew Johnson, August 15, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), protested the taking of property from loyal men by the Federal army with no recompense. Hereinafter cited as Johnson Papers.

[16]See petition to President Lincoln, quoted in Nashville *Daily Union*, February 19, 1865.

[17]Joseph H. Parks, "Memphis under Military Rule, 1862 to 1865," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 14 (1942), 31-58, is an excellent account but gives little information on 1865.

[18]Nashville *Daily Press*, March 11, 1865.

[19]Nashville *Daily Union*, February 10, 1865.

[20]Nashville *Daily Press*, March 10, 1865.

[21]*Ibid.*, March 13, 14, 1865.

try forced a home in Hardin County, West Tennessee, violated the lady and her two daughters, and hanged them until they were almost dead in an attempt to learn the location of money supposedly hidden.[22]

The freedmen in Tennessee were another source of trouble. As has been noted, they tended to flock into towns and cities, leaving many rural areas without labor. The Freedmen's Bureau was established in March, 1865, and its officials made every effort to keep Negroes out of the cities and to encourage them to return to farms and plantations as laborers. Throughout 1865 this policy, though intensely pursued, yielded disappointing results. In addition to the widespread belief among the Negroes that freedom meant freedom from work, there were other forces resisting a return to normal working conditions. Some who were willing to work would not work for white men, and many were advised that they would be supported by the government if they refused to work for "rebels." The *ignis fatuus* of "forty acres and a mule" restrained many from signing work contracts until after January 1, 1866. Where Negroes were found willing to sign contracts, there was often a demand for money wages, to be paid at frequent intervals—a demand entirely beyond the capacity of most farmers. The result was that the labor shortage continued throughout 1865 while towns and cities were packed with vagrant Negroes.[23]

On August 23, 1865, the Knoxville *Whig* commented editorially on the news that a Memphis census of Negroes showed 20,000 to 25,000. "This congestion in cities and towns of such crowds of colored folks, to live in idleness, and on rations furnished by the government is all wrong. It is doing the blacks an injury that will show itself after a while. All sorts of depredations are commited by the blacks." In the town of Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, the Freedmen's Bureau agent reported 4,500 Negroes in town and environs, commenting "it is a great many more than is needed here."[24] Sickness and starvation were problems which the Bureau attacked with speed and on large scales, but many Negroes died from insanitary conditions. No relief was obtained in 1865, and the major

[22]Nashville *Daily Union,* May 12, 1865.

[23]Joseph E. Walker, "The Negro in Tennessee during the Reconstruction Period" (M. A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1933), 1-26, gives a good account of the problem of the freedmen in the state. The most valuable source for detailed information on freedmen and race relations is Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872 (The National Archives). Of greatest importance among these records are: Tennessee, Reports of Sub-Assistants, 1866-69; Tennessee, Inspection Reports, 1866; and Tennessee, Reports on Outrages and Riots, 1866-67. Hereinafter cited respectively under specific dates as Freedmen's Bureau Reports, Freedmen's Bureau Inspection Reports, and Freedmen's Bureau Outrage Reports.

[24]John Seage to General C. B. Fisk, August 31, 1865, Freedmen's Bureau Inspection Reports.

towns reported the problem for several years.

A report from Chattanooga detailed conditions as late as March, 1866. Congestion was reported still serious with cabins scattered all about Chattanooga and adjoining area—huts with two to six families each. The squalor and filth made the agent fear epidemic disease. Some old men were reported cultivating kitchen gardens while able-bodied men either worked temporarily in the city or robbed. Many were being convicted and sent to prison. "The condition of the women is even worse than that of the men. They outnumber the former at least three to one. . . .These women are also less regularly employed than the men, a majority of them being prostitutes of the lowest order." A part of the city was reported as a sink of filth and debauchery, where crimes were committed without restraint. Three colored regiments garrisoned Chattanooga.[25]

Under these circumstances racial antagonism in the urban communities flared. The natural friction resulting from the new position of the Negro and the unusual congestion was intensified by the tendency of the town Negroes to turn to crime as a source of income. Negro torchlight parades disturbed the white population, and charges of drunken and disorderly conduct were lodged against untold numbers of Negroes. But this type of misdemeanor, along with petty thievery, was not the only manifestation. The report of Negroes breaking into the home of Dr. James D. White of Wilson County, mutilating Dr. and Mrs. White with an ax, and stealing three hundred dollars was not an unusual atrocity account.[26] It was frequently reported that white children were beaten by Negro men. On one occasion a small white boy ran against a Negro on the street. The Negro pulled a gun and fired, missing the boy but blinding him by the powder burns.[27]

As late as November, 1865, a pitched battle occurred in Nashville downtown streets between whites and Negroes over the efforts of a party of Negroes to appropriate the personal property of everyone who came along the streets. Murders and robberies were so common that few ventured out at night, and those who did kept to the middle of the street and carried lanterns. A voluntary patrol of white men was finally organized to supplement the police force in Nashville, and the Freedmen's Bureau closed the dance halls.[28]

Brownlow's Knoxville *Whig* reported that thousands of Negroes were gathering in Knoxville and other East Tennessee towns,

[25]J. E. Jacobs to General C. B. Fisk, March 12, 1866, *ibid.*
[26]Nashville *Daily Union*, January 23, 1865.
[27]Nashville *Daily Press*, March 17, 1865.
[28]Nashville *Republican Banner*, November, 1865; Walker, "The Negro in Tennessee . . .,"13-14.

loafing on the corners and in dance halls, and insulting whites on the public streets. The people of that end of the state had little use for the freedmen, and a Freedmen's Bureau official reported that the intensely Radical loyalists of the mountain districts were among the most bitterly antagonistic toward the Negro. One Union soldier was reported to have said that if military forces were removed "the buzzards can't eat up the niggers as fast as we'll kill them!"[29]

Negro troops were a special problem in East Tennessee. On September 7, 1865, General George H. Thomas acknowledged President Johnson's directions to remove them, but reported that no white troops were available for replacement.[30] Apparently some delay was encountered in their withdrawal, for on September 19 Brownlow telegraphed Johnson asking a civil trial for a Union veteran who was to be tried by court martial for shooting a Negro soldier caught stealing money in a store. Brownlow reported that the Negro officers were prejudiced against the defendant and race feelings were running high.[31] A week later the *Whig* carried a long editorial decrying the "dangerous" state of race relations in East Tennessee because of Negro soldiers' insulting whites, and pleading for removal of all troops from East Tennessee.[32]

It was in Memphis that the presence of poorly disciplined Negro troops led to the worst race conflict in Tennessee during Reconstruction.[33] Citizens petitioned in vain for replacement of Negro troops with white; and in December, 1865, a near riot occurred when a large crowd of Negroes rescued a Negro soldier from police, who had arrested him for stealing meat at the market. The policemen were chased from the scene and several homes ransacked in the process of searching for them.[34] The Irish police of the city developed what amounted to a feud with Negro soldiers, and after discharge many of the Negroes engaged in violence without protection of uniforms. On April 30, 1866, a scuffle occurred between police and some Negroes. The following day a Negro mob interfered with police attempting to arrest a Negro, and firing took place. The police obtained reinforcement from headquarters and returned to the scene—followed by a growing crowd of the city's white riffraff. In the resulting riots, lasting for two days, forty-six

[29]Walker, "The Negro in Tennessee...," 14-16.

[30]George H. Thomas to Andrew Johnson, September 7, 1865, Johnson Papers.

[31]Brownlow to Andrew Johnson, September 19, 1865, *ibid.*

[32]Knoxville *Whig*, September 13, 1865. Sam Milligan did not want the troops withdrawn because he believed that Brownlow was trying to perpetuate his own power by using appointed sheriffs and their subordinates as a private military force. Milligan to Andrew Johnson, September 1, 1865, Johnson Papers.

[33]For background see Parks, "Memphis under Military Rule, 1862 to 1865," *loc. cit.*

[34]Nashville *Republican Banner*, December 22, 1865, cited in Walker, "The Negro in Tenessee...," 17.

Negroes were killed and a larger number injured. Widespread destruction of Negro property included the burning of several churches and schools. The report of the Freedmen's Bureau representative listed as background causes: the feud between police and Negro troops; incendiary race prejudice articles in the Memphis papers; isolated outrages by Negro troops during occupation; economic competition between Negroes and white laborers; and the character of the police, many of whom were so ignorant that they were unaware that curfew hour for Negroes under slavery laws no longer existed. None of the ex-Confederate leaders were involved; and the Memphis *Avalanche*, an extreme Conservative paper, condemned the participants vigorously.The congressional Radicals were not satisfied with the reports and sent an investigating committee to seek evidence that the rioting was a result of continuing rebellious spirit among Memphis ex-Confederates.[35]

The spirit of vindictiveness further complicated the distraught condition of the state during 1865. In many places returning Confederates met hostility from Union men. In some areas this was only temporary, but in the eastern portion of the state it became steadily worse, rather than better, during 1865 and represented in many ways the most acute problem of all. Brownlow, through his Knoxville *Whig* and his public utterances, made it a policy to encourage that spirit for many months after the end of hostilities.

In Hardin County, West Tennessee, a ruffian Union element adopted "gray-cutting" as their favorite amusement. One resident of the county tells in his reminiscences about a party of Federals attacking and brutally beating his cousin who had been a Confederate surgeon, and of an uncle whose only coat and vest were taken from him and shot to pieces. Numerous similar incidents were reported from adjacent counties.[36]

In Nashville a party of paroled Confederate officers was ordered out of the Old Theatre by a United States officer for appearing in public in uniform, and some instances of personal attacks were reported in Memphis.[37] But in West Tennessee such animosities as existed seem to have been subdued quickly. In June, 1865, one East Tennessean in Memphis on business wrote back that all was quiet and that most men seemed to desire quiet.[38] In December

[35]See report of the chief superintendent of the Memphis sub-district to General C. B. Fisk, May 23, 1866, Freedmen's Bureau Outrage Reports; J. B. Bingham to Andrew Johnson, May 17, 1866, Johnson Papers; S. B. Washburne to Thaddeus Stevens, May 24, 1866, Thaddeus Stevens Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Memphis *Avalanche*, May 3, 1866.

[36]John A. Pitts, *Personal and Professional Reminiscences of an Old Lawyer* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1930), 116-221.

[37]Nashville *Daily Union*, March 14, May 9, 1865.

[38]M. S. Temple to O. P. Temple, June 12, 1865, O. P. Temple Papers (University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville). Hereinafter cited as Temple Papers.

of that year an ex-Confederate brigadier general wrote the following to a Knoxville friend:

> . . .The Memphis bar is now crowded with new men from the North and from the South. There exists fortunately between them the most perfect harmony, indeed our people in this Section of the State are perfectly harmonious, and the most uncompromising Union men have received the returning rebels with the utmost cordiality and kindness, extending to them every assistance to get back into business and restore their broken fortunes. . .[39]

It was in East Tennessee, as has been noted, that conditions went from bad to worse during 1865. There the Confederates were in a minority, and this fact must have had some bearing on the treatment they received. Furthermore, while the Confederate authorities controlled East Tennessee, many hardships were brought on Unionists. The bridge-burning episodes in that area had resulted in some executions, and many Unionists had been imprisoned because their activities were considered dangerous to the Confederacy. Several prominent East Tennesseans died in Confederate prisons. The Confederate conscription acts forced many peaceful Unionists to leave their homes and flee or else be drawn into Confederate service against their principles. The matter of confiscating property for military use was a source of great resentment also, but in this case the Federal armies were more of a burden than the Confederate.

In addition to these routine matters which embittered many East Tennesseans, it appears that some unjustifiable actions were taken in East Tennessee by Confederate subordinates. An ex-Confederate, distressed over conditions in East Tennessee, wrote a Unionist friend:

> . . .You and I know who caused the bitterness and cruelties committed in East Tennessee under Confederate rule; it was done in violation of the policy of those in power at Richmond, it was done to gratify old party and private animosities, and they have escaped, while others not at all responsible have suffered. . . . I love East Tennessee and I was grieved when her Union people suffered at the hands of bad men using Confederate authority to gratify their own malignant feelings, and I sorrow for her now when I see so many of her people wanderers from their home. . . .[40]

As a result of the many pressures during the war, a crop of bitterness was ripe by its close. As Confederate soldiers began to return to their homes in East Tennessee many found themselves unwelcome. Those who had been prominent or active as Confederate leaders were most likely to be maltreated by Unionists. Confederate conscription officers were decidedly unpopular in their home count-

[39]W. Y. C. Humes to *id.*, December 2, 1865, *ibid.*
[40]*Id.* to *id.*, December 3, 1865, *ibid.*

ies. One letter stated that nearly all the men from Grainger and Hawkins counties had come in by the end of May, but that Tom Smith, who was an enrolling officer, dared not return and was staying in Sullivan County.[41] For a while the mass of returning Confederate soldiers were not molested, but this situation soon changed. One diarist recorded that the disposition of Union men to take revenge and gratify their malice soon manifested itself in acts of violence, and that many such acts, including murders, were committed by the lower grade of Union men upon Confederates.[42]

By May conditions had become so desperate that nearly one hundred Union men of Knox County, East Tennessee, signed a petition to Governor Brownlow reporting that loyal men, under a sense of personal or political wrongs, had resorted to the infliction of violence upon those who sympathized with the late rebellion. Threats had been made against paroled men from Lee's and Johnston's armies, and attempts had been made to kill Confederate sympathizers who had remained at home. Such conduct, said the petitioners, by loyal men like themselves was greatly regretted out of a sincere regard for law and order. A proclamation was requested from the governor urging all good citizens to refrain from acts of lawless and personal violence and give due respect to the civil magistracy. This was requested to correct the dangers to the persons and lives of citizens, to protect the weak from maltreatment and to allay the feeling of needless terror throughout the community. "For," they concluded, "every citizen who declares and renders allegiance to the Government under which he lives is entitled to its protection."[43]

This petition placed the governor in an embarrassing position since it was his Knoxville *Whig* that was partly responsible for inciting the acts deplored in the petition. He apparently considered the whole matter a trick to injure him politically. The signers were Conservative Unionists, and many had alienated themselves from Brownlow by supporting McClellan in 1864. It was probably difficult for him to believe that true Unionists could have any great worries about "rebels," and it is entirely possible that some of the signers were interested in undermining Brownlow's position by the petition. But the evidence of conditions as they were described is incontrovertible. In response to the petition Brownlow wrote and issued a proclamation on May 30, 1865. On the same day he wrote to Oliver P. Temple at Knoxville: "I think you will agree with me

[41]Ada to Carrie Stakely, May 28, 1865, Hall-Stakely Papers.

[42]David Anderson Deaderick, Register of Events and Facts Recorded Annually (1825-1873), 1865. Original in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. Hereinafter cited as Deaderick Diary.

[43]Petition to Brownlow, May 22, 1865, Brownlow Papers.

that the *tricksters* who got up the petition asking for a Proclamation have not made much by the operation and will not be apt to make much."[44]

The proclamation certainly did not accomplish the object of calming vengeful Unionists. It noted the terms of the petition, and advised all wronged Unionists to seek their redress in civil courts rather than by the methods allegedly in use. It noted, however, that, "Should the guilty be shielded by the corruption of civil or judicial officers, or justice to the injured be refused by the courts, it will then be impossible to prevent the injured and oppressed from taking their remedies into their own hands." The remainder of the proclamation must be quoted if the suggestive nature is to be accurately presented.[45]

When the Federal soldiers who survive after an absence of three years of hard figting [*sic*] return to their homes from which they were driven, and find their homes desolated, find that their wives and children have sunk into poverty and starvation, or into untimely graves, or find them in rags and sickness, crying for bread—when these wan and weary men, many of them themselves crippled for life, or reduced in health, with their constitutions broken, and their prospects in life blasted, I am not among those who would restrain their vengeance against their oppressors, so long as their vengeance is kept within reasonable bounds and sought through legitimate channels. But those agents in the bloody drama who were themselves *unwilling agents* should be treated with charitable consideration, and as to them we should drown the recollections of the past in the dark waters of oblivion. While those leaders who notified Union men, at the beginning of the rebellion, that but one party could hereafter live in Eastern Tennessee, and drove them from their homes, would act wisely to quietly and forever withdraw from the country.

Intelligent, influential men of wealth, who instigated this rebellion—who seized and imprisoned Union men, and sent them by hundreds and thousands to the grave—and then to crown their work of infamy, deprived their helpless families of all they had—have forfeited all right to protection and life, and merit the vigorous and undying opposition of loyal men. Still they must be punished in a legitimate way. And in the judgment of the Executive of this State, the disposition manifested by many of our loyal citizens to shield from justice the chief actors in these revolting scenes, is cause of serious alarm. Leniency, without a distinction between loyalty and treason, is more certain to subvert the Government than is rebellion itself. Clemency, at the sacrifice of justice, is the abandonment of government, and the overthrow of law and order. The treason of the rebellion is a crime against law, liberty and humanity. They who are guilty of it have forfeited all rights to citizenship, and to life itself. Every field of carnage, every rebel prison, every Union man's grave unite with a violated law and demand the penalty, and if the courts do not administer it, an outraged people will.

I call upon all rebel robbers, bushwackers and guerrillas to cease their

[44]W. G. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, May 30, 1865, Temple Papers.
[45]For full text see Knoxville *Whig*, June 7, 1865.

wicked ways and betake themselves to honest pursuits.

I call upon all rebels who have stolen horses, mules, cattle and other property, and who have committed other outrages upon Union men or Union families, forthwith to restore the stolen property to its true owners, and make reparation to all loyal men for the wrongs they have done them and their oppressed families.

I call upon those who have carried off the money, archives and property of the State, and the property of the railroad companies, to forthwith return all they took away, or these offenders shall have no rest while I am in office. And I warn all who refuse to return this property, or make a just reparation, to leave the State or remain out of her borders.

And I call upon all returning rebel soldiers to cease their threats of violence, such as, that they are not whipped, and are only resting with a purpose to fight again. Such threats can only bring on trouble, and result in the shedding of blood.[46]

There was no Conservative newspaper in Knoxville; and, by the end of June, the uncontested circulation of the Knoxville *Whig* had become a source of considerable concern to the ex-Confederates and those among the Unionists who did not countenance the policy of violence. T. A. R. Nelson received a long plea from Morristown urging him to establish a Conservative newspaper at Knoxville. The letter stated in part:

. . .The increasing hostility toward the returning Confederates and their sympathizers is alarming and can't be attributed to any other source than the influence arising from the circulation of a certain journal in this county. The circulation of a journal advocating a lenient policy would palliate these differences and restore the former equilibrium of society. As it is, anarchy reigns throughout the country. Not a day passes but what some rebel receives his 400 lashes or its equivalent—the contents of a minnie rifle.

After further urging the establishment of a paper, the letter pointed out that the circulation of the paper in question was murderous to the interests of society, for the rabble used it as their guide and textbook—assuming that it was the only true exponent of the Union position since they saw no other journal.[47]

Confederates in many parts of the section received individual warnings to leave the country, and blanket warnings were posted for any concerned. One of these open letters read:

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Bird G. Manard to Nelson, June 28, 1865, Nelson Papers. A marginal notation by John B. Brownlow on the Knoxville *Whig*, February 15, 1865 (Library of Congress file), states: "It was the universal opinion of intelligent Union men that the demand of this paper for retaliation, in kind, for the murder of loyal men and the threat that rich rebels would be held responsible in person & property, for the lawless acts of their vagabond sons had a powerful effect in lessening the robberies, house-burnings & murders of loyal men." The end of organized fighting may account for reduction of violence in the spring of 1865.

Spetial Order No 1
In the Woods near NewMarket Tenn
July the 24th 65

All *damed* Rebels are hereby notified to *lieve* at *wonce,* if found *her* at the expiration of ten days from the date of this order and no *preparation* to *lieve Thrashing mashiens* will *sit* at *wonce* enough to *thrash* all crops with the *usal tole hickry* withs and *cowhides* or anything *els* that may be required on the occasion. We are working by the order that you *theving* God forsaken helldeserving Rebels issued four years ago Union men and Rebels cannot live together which we find not altogether bogus

We are vary
respectively
Old Soldier[48]

In Newport an ex-Confederate who owned houses and a tanyard was notified by some intoxicated men twice in four days that he must leave or be killed. His offense was cited as the use of his house by Confederate authorities to administer oaths of allegiance to the Confederacy. He wrote that these men had said no rebels could remain in the county, and that many were gone and others preparing to leave. As for his own case, he was preparing to move his family out of the state. His opinion was that the men were put up to threatening him by certain others who hoped to get possession of his property, for unless he could remain at home there was little chance to salvage anything from his estate there.[49] Another man of property, who had fled to Anderson, South Carolina, feared a definite object in the declarations that none of the Southern party should return to East Tennessee. He believed the instigators to be looking to the chances of acquiring fortunes for themselves from the confiscation of real estate of such Confederates, and thought that considerable northern capital had already been applied in that way. "If such is the case," he concluded, "then truly it may be said, there is method in the madness of malcontents, and the restoration of peace and tranquility, can only be expected from a faithful and rigorous administration of the civil laws of the land."[50]

In the Jonesboro area a band of about one hundred outlaws, including desperados from both armies, were reported in May as committing outrages. Many of the best citizens believed the gang to be one of the instruments of the "Loyal League" for driving out and dispossessing ex-Confederates and their sympathizers. One observer thought that the Brownlow faction instituted the scheme to expel all such families from Washington County, and in so doing aroused the gang of robbers and thieves which they either could

[48]A manuscript copy is in the Nelson Papers.
[49]Robert S. Roadman to Nelson, August 20, 1865, *ibid.*
[50]O. R. Broyles to *id.*, August 15, 1865, *ibid.*

not or did not wish to control.[51]

Large numbers of Confederates under bonds to appear before the Federal court in Knoxville on charges of treason were afraid to stay in the area or to return at the time for trial. Many requested delays for this reason, and courts recognized the situation as dangerous and granted extensions. The families of many of these men were also forced to leave.[52] The Federal district attorney at Knoxville advised many not to appear in Knoxville at the time.[53]

David A. Deaderick recorded in his diary that the lynching in Knoxville of a returned Confederate soldier who had killed a man in self-defense, together with threats of further violence, caused all returned Confederate soldiers and some others to go south. His two sons went to Macon, Georgia. "The state of the country here is deplorable," he recorded. "A number of our best citizens are seeking other homes, and even conservative union men are thinking of leaving. Still, *orders* are given by those self-constituted patriots, to rebels to leave. And in Blount County, even the rebel women are ordered off and many are gone. . . .These are not the acts of the best of the union men, but of low and irresponsible men generally. . . ."[54] The next year he recorded that many of the best citizens of the county had been driven out. Jonesboro had deteriorated greatly. His brother James, always a moderate Southern man, but obnoxious to certain men on account of his success as a lawyer, had been forced to leave.[55]

An East Tennessee correspondent of the Nashville *Dispatch* wrote that a new paper had been established at Greeneville advocating expulsion of ex-Confederates, and that the Jonesboro *Union Flag* was notifying all ex-Confederates to leave. The correspondent noted that the position of these papers was but evidence of the fact that Unionists and ex-Confederates could never fraternize in East Tennessee. "There is no attempt to disguise the fact," he wrote, "that the Union men will demand that the leading Rebels and Rebel-sympathizers shall leave this section of the state. Already a large number of these classes in Washington and Greene have been notified that they must leave within ten days. The same state of

[51]G. Grainger to Edmund Cooper, May 13, 1866, Johnson Papers. As late as April 28, 1866, James W. Deaderick was writing that the Union League in Washington County was causing havoc and that conditions throughout East Tennessee were still terrible. Deaderick to D. T. Patterson, *ibid.*

[52]W. W. Wallace to T. A. R. Nelson, August 23, November 20, 1865; John G. King to Messrs. Neatherland and Nelson, October 23, 1865; N. M. Taylor to Nelson, October, 1865; W. W. James to *id.*, October 31, 1865; M. J. Mims to *id.*, November 3, 1865; J. F. McClure to *id.*, November 6, 1865; Jesse G. Wallace to *id.*, November 7, 1865, Nelson Papers. Also see affidavit of Joseph Tucker, September 8, 1865, *ibid.*

[53]Jesse G. Wallace to T. A. R. Nelson, November 7, 1865, *ibid.*

[54]Deaderick Diary, September, 1865.

[55]*Ibid.*, 1866.

affairs exists pretty much throughout East Tennessee. . . ."[56]

From Rogersville came a letter requesting T. A. R. Nelson to appeal to President Johnson in behalf of the women and children of that place against a mob ruling the town which would not allow the boys of Confederate families to go to school at all, and would not permit the employment of teachers by their families.[57]

In December, 1865, a letter from Memphis to O.P. Temple expressed regret that a policy was being pursued which was inflicting a second great wrong on East Tennessee and was driving many of her best people into exile. "Would to God that something could be done to assuage this bitterness and restore East Tennessee to peace and harmony."[58] The next month an East Tennessean in South Carolina wrote that he was in almost daily receipt of information from refugees as to the conditions in East Tennessee, and was inclined to believe that it was the settled purpose of the whole population to expel the last one of the few remaining Confederate sympathizers from that division of the state.[59]

In February of 1866, testifying before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Senator David T. Patterson stated:

> Upon the occupation of East Tennessee by General Burnside, in September, 1863, the Rebels themselves, who had made themselves obnoxious, fled from East Tennessee, and but few have returned. We have now but few rebels in East Tennessee. The Union men, when they were enabled to return, were not very amiable, and they resorted to retaliation, and executed a great many rebels—paid them back in the same sort of coin they had received at their hands. The Union men were guilty of a great many excesses, and can only be excused upon the ground that they had themselves been made to suffer terribly by those rebels.
>
> Really, so far as East Tennessee is concerned, we have now very few rebels there. We have nothing to fear from rebel votes or from rebel influence in my section of the State. I doubt very much whether there are more than three counties in East Tennessee where a rebel would present himself for any office of any character. . . .[60]

Some fled or contemplated fleeing far indeed. To one resident came letters from acquaintances who had moved to Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, or Georgia.[61] One exasperated correspondent wrote from Atlanta in 1867: ". . .how hard it is to be born and raised in a state and be driven off by—[*sic*] and can't be safe in going back. . . ."[62]

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[56]Nashville *Dispatch*, July 6, 1865.
[57]Mrs. Joseph B. Heiskell to T. A. R. Nelson, July 26, 1865, Nelson Papers.
[58]W. Y. C. Humes to O. P. Temple, December 3, 1865, Temple Papers.
[59]O. R. Broyles to T. A. R. Nelson, January 22, 1866, Nelson Papers.
[60]Joint Committee on Reconstruction, *Report*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 116.
[61]Letters in the Graham Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). These letters are in such condition that in many instances the date or writer cannot be determined. Some are written to William Neil. The dates are evidently in 1866 and 1867.
[62]—[torn off] to William Neil, February 18, 1867, *ibid.*

Another was on his way to farther regions, and wrote from Arkansas that he was "on the half way ground from East Tennessee to Mexico by land." He intended to stop on the "Brases River" for one winter if he carried out his plans to go on to Mexico. However, he was considering Brazil instead. He had encountered several from Missouri on their way to South America and was informed that Brazilian agents were in Texas offering one thousand acres of land, ten Negroes, a year's provisions, and free transportation. He was told by enthusiasts for the move that four South American states were making offers and that seventy-five thousand men were already there.[63]

President Johnson was receiving many reports on conditions, especially through his son Robert and his son-in-law David T. Patterson. Robert reported that Union men would not permit Confederate leaders and others who had persecuted Union families to live in East Tennessee and that he had personal knowledge of several murders and beatings.[64] Sam Milligan wrote Johnson that no part of the country was in worse disorder than parts of East Tennessee—"Not, to be sure, from a spirit of rebellion but from the lawless conduct of the returned soldiers." "Not a day passes," he continued, "but some man of family is either beaten almost to death, or driven from the country, and all it would seem, from the Governor's organ under his sanction."[65] Brownlow, meanwhile, was anxious to allay Johnson's fears and assured him that things were quiet in East Tennessee and the outrages greatly exaggerated.[66]

By the summer of 1866 one East Tennessean could write that the vengeful feeling had measurably subsided because the material to operate on was nearly all gone. He reported that seventy-five families of refugees, in addition to his own family, had moved to one Middle Tennessee county, and that even more were in counties westward.[67]

Union men who had suffered imprisonment or loss of property due to Confederate action were encouraged to enter damage suits against the men responsible for their losses. If it was not possible

[63]J. G. Owens to William Neil and Family, February 12, 1866, *ibid.* The 75,000 estimate was, of course, greatly exaggerated. The total Southern migration to Brazil was between 8,000 and 10,000. Coulter, *South During Reconstruction,* 184, citing L. F. Hill, *The Confederate Exodus to Latin American* (Austin, 1936), 1-94.

[64]Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, May 31, 1865, Johnson Papers.

[65]Sam Milligan to Andrew Johnson, September 1, 1865, *ibid.* See also Jas. W. Deaderick to D. T. Patterson, April 28, 1866; J. L. Burts to Andrew Johnson, October 10, 1865, *ibid.*

[66]W. G. Brownlow to Andrew Johnson, November 10, 1865; *id.* to Robert Johnson, December 28, 1865, *ibid.* Major General Alvan C. Gillem thought good order was reviving in East Tennessee in November, 1865. Gillem to Andrew Johnson, November 11, 1865, *ibid.*

[67]Hiram Bogle to Kirkpatrick, August 26, 1866, Temple Papers.

to identify specific individuals as the responsible parties, then suits were entered against any prominent Confederates of the community whose influence could be said to have encouraged such Confederate actions. This very wide principle of responsibility was applied in many places, and the property of large numbers of East Tennessee ex-Confederates was attached under such suits. Brownlow was awarded twenty-five thousand dollars damages for imprisonment and persecutions, that amount to be raised from the properties of certain prominent Knoxville ex-Confederates.[68] Among the properties attached were those of a Colonel Sneed, who was not present at the time of Brownlow's imprisonment and had no part in the matter, and John H. Crozier, who also had nothing to do with the imprisonment. The property was actually sold, and the plaintiff purchased it. Sneed recovered his property through Federal courts after a long suit. Crozier did not recover his until 1868 when he compromised with Brownlow, allowing the latter to retain all rents collected in the interim and paying the taxes for the whole time himself.[69] Simultaneously with the Brownlow award, the heirs of Samuel Pickens, a state senator who had died in a Confederate prison, were allowed damages.

Upon the successful prosecution of this damage claim Brownlow urged others to follow suit. Editorially, in the Knoxville *Whig* of March 1, he exhorted: "But this is only the beginning of the end. Other suits are on the docket, and others are to come. Let them be impoverished, and made bankrupts. Let them be made beggars, going from door to door for their bread. They brought on this rebellion—they caused all this suffering and trouble—let them be made odious, and let their estates be confiscated." Not less than four separate articles in this one issue urged all Union men with damages to file suits. However, the interference of Federal courts eventually resulted in the abandonment of such legal actions—but not before great inconvenience and uncertainty had been experienced among ex-Confederate property holders in East Tennessee.[70]

Indictments in Federal courts for treason also inconvenienced many of this class, who were required to post bond and appear in courts often far from their postwar homes. Here again the courts eventually made no convictions; but it was not until 1867 that the Bristol *News* could report that Judge Swan, the judge most inclined

[68]Awards to Brownlow and to the heirs of Senator Pickens, as well as an award of $25,000 to Horace Foster of Blount County from several wealthy men, were reported in the Knoxville *Whig*, March 1, 1865. The story was carried in the Chattanooga *Gazette*, March 3, 1865, and in the Nashville *Dispatch*, March 7, 1865.

[69]Deaderick Diary, 1868.

[70]John B. Brownlow noted on the margin of the Knoxville *Whig*, May 17, 1865 (Library of Congress file), that "Loyal men never gained, finally, by these suits. The Rebels won."

to try the cases, had dismissed General J. C. Ramsey—thereby signaling the discontinuation of such suits.[71]

To complicate the matter further it appeared to some that old-line Democrats were especially singled out for persecution by old-line Whigs. One Democrat wrote President Johnson:

> Allow me to state a fact to you. There are several Whig enrolling officers (confed) in this County. Not a single one of whom have been indicted for Treason in a State or Federal Court. Not a single Whig in the county to my knowledge has been beat ordered off or driven out of the county. Every Democrat in the county occupying respectable positions in their civil Districts without regard to their conduct in the rebellion has been sued, civilly indicted in both courts for Treason, beaten, murdered, and driven out of the County by formal notices given under penalty of death if they remain. . . . The plan is to rid East Tennessee of Democrats. . . .

Although this testimony should be questioned because the writer was seeking Federal patronage in Jonesboro for old-line Democrats, it seems probable that ante-bellum party affiliation was a factor of discrimination in some of the persecution.[72]

It was in this confused and alarming state of affairs that the long and difficult process of postwar rehabilitation was begun. At the same time Unionists of the state pressed their attempts to return Tennessee to civil government.

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[71]Bristol *News*, March 7, 1867.
[72]William H. Maxwell to Andrew Johnson, November 2, 1865, Johnson Papers.

TENNESSEE TEMPERANCE ACTIVITIES, 1870-1899

By Grace Leab*

The temperance sentiment of Tennessee is as old as the state itself. Its growth has been gradual, and many forces have worked to determine its progress. The state's first liquor law originated in North Carolina. This act of 1779 restricted drinking to homes and establishments for travelers by providing that intoxicants could be retailed only by inn and tavern-keepers who had secured licenses from the county court. Tippling houses were legalized in 1831 when the legislature outlined a general system whereby anyone could secure a permit for the retailing of spirituous liquors upon paying a twenty-five dollar fee and making bond to keep an orderly house and prohibit gambling. In 1838 the act of 1831 was repealed, and the famous "quart law," providing that fines be imposed upon anyone retailing spirituous liquors, was enacted. This law represented the first attempt in the United States to make illegal the sale of spirituous liquors in small quantities for beverage purposes.

In 1846 the legislature repealed the act of 1838 and returned to the general licensing system of 1831. In 1856 the lawmakers repealed the general licensing law in 1846 and reverted to the "quart law." In 1857, however, the act of 1856 was repealed, and the general licensing system restored. Under this system any person holding a license might sell spirituous and vinous liquors in any amount. To secure a license, one must pay the state tax of $25 for $250 worth of goods and an additional tax of $10 for each $100 above that amount. Local units could levy taxes which did not exceed the state tax. Holders of licenses and their employees were forbidden to sell to slaves without the written permission of their owners or to minors without the written permission of their parents or guardians. Sales could not be made on Sunday and gambling could not be permitted on the premises.

During the Civil War various military orders prohibited the sale to soldiers and government employees and in other ways placed restrictions and limitations on the sale in various places. After 1865 temperance advocates removed the drinking places from the neighborhood of several schools through the passage of special acts applying to particular institutions. The churches, a sympathetic press, and three temperance organizations— the Sons of Temperance, the

*This paper was read at a meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Jonesboro in May, 1948.

Order of the Good Templars, and the Cadets of Temperance—were largely responsible for the progress of the cause in the state prior to 1870.[1]

After the hectic years of the Civil War and reconstruction had passed, Tennessee entered upon a new period of her existence. The political situation had become more stable: on March 26, 1870, a revised constitution met with the overwhelming approval of the people, and the Democrats with a common determination that the years of Radical rule should not return, secured control of the state in the election of November, 1870. The people had begun to make economic adjustments and perhaps some of the discord and bitterness was passing away. The decade of the seventies, to be sure, presented its problems. The Democrats, feeling that it was necessary to keep the Republicans out of the legislature, vengefully gerrymandered the state. There was bitter factionalism within the Democratic party and the state debt was a most trying problem.[2] These issues, however, were of a type that concerned the politician and legislator more than the individual citizen. For this reason, perhaps, Tennessee's people had an opportunity to turn their attention to social developments, with the result that the temperance activities from 1870 to 1880 far surpassed in number and importance those of the preceding decade.

The old temperance organizations continued and expanded their activities, and new ones found their way into the state. The Sons of Temperance displayed great activity during the first three years of the decade and employed many lecturers who traveled over all parts of the state attempting to persuade the people that "all would be happier if temperance prevailed."[3] Some interesting stories were told of these speakers. One found it necessary to work out a vigorous defense for himself after a charge of being intoxicated while speaking had been made against him. Another declared that a rum seller was worse than a murderer, and after an interview with an "urbane and genial hotel keeper," his left eye needed medical attention.[4] In addition to its extensive lecture program, the organization sponsored temperance picnics,[5] rallies, public mass meetings,[6] and parades in

[1]P.M. Hamer, *Tennessee. A History,* 1673-1932, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 339-51; *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee,* 1845-1846, pp. 134-138; Ferdinand Cowle Iglehart, *King Alcohol Dethroned* (Westerville, Ohio, 1919), 233; Nashville *Republican Banner, October* 21, 1869, July 5, 1869.

[2]Hamer, *Tennessee,* II, 657-92.

[3]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle,* May 6, 1870.

[4]*Ibid.,* July 19, 1870, February 18, 1871.

[5]Nashville *Republican Banner,* June 7, 1872; Knoxville *Daily Chronicle,* May 29, 1870.

[6]*Ibid.,* May 24, 1870.

full regalia.[7] Bands of Hope, in which any child who would sign the total abstinence pledge[8] was eligible for membership, were created over the state. Many new subordinate divisions of the organization were founded so that "an unrelenting war would be waged against the arch-demon of intemperance with unabated vigor."[9] Yet by 1874 the Sons of Temperance had declined greatly in importance, and the Order of Good Templars took its place as Tennessee's leading temperance society.

At the meeting of the Tennessee Order of Good Templars in 1872, it was reported that within the preceding year a hundred new lodges had been organized, embracing over four thousand members.[10] In order to secure adequate hotel accommodations for the large number of delegates, it was necessary to hold the convention in Nashville.[11] In 1873 the order had 194 lodges and 7,534 members. By October, 1874, the number of lodges had increased to 297.[12] In East Tennessee particularly, the order grew rapidly.[13] The Good Templars, like the Sons of Temperance, sponsored many lectures which were often followed by the signing of pledges and the organization of new lodges.[14] The society was noted for its effective work among the Negroes of the state.[15] By 1875 a few groups of Juvenile Templars had been organized, and appeals were made for the encouragement of the work among children. The Good Templars advocated local option and a law making retailers responsible for any damage done by intoxicated individuals to whom they had sold liquor.[16] In Athens the work of the Order was so effective that three of the four barrooms closed.[17] Individual members of the society prided themselves on the fact that they were total abstainers. The story is told of a Knoxville baseball team's having defeated a Greeneville team, whereupon a member of the latter suggested that they could not be beaten at drinking whiskey. To this challenge one of the

[7]Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle*, December 31, 1873.

[8]The text of this pledge was supplied from memory by Miss Margaret Fain of Johnson City, Tennessee.

"God helping me, I promise not to drink, buy, sell, or give
Alcoholic liquors as a beverage while I live;
From all tobacco I'll abstain
And never take God's name in vain."

[9]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, August 6, 1870.

[10]Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 22, 1872.

[11]*Ibid.*, August 22, 1872.

[12]*Ibid.*, October 21, 1873, October 20, 1874.

[13]*Ibid.*, March 30, 1872.

[14]Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle*, January 19, 1876.

[15]Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle*, October 29, 1873; Nashville *Daily American*, October 24, 1877.

[16]Nashville *Daily American*, October 20, 1875.

[17]Nashville *Republican Banner*, January 7, 1875.

Knoxville nine replied that they were Good Templars and did not indulge.[18] In 1870 the Tennessee Order of Good Templars chose the *Republican Banner* of Nashville as its official organ.[19]

Early in 1873 another society, called the Friends of Temperance, was organized; it grew rapidly and attained strength, particularly in the southern states. By midsummer there were active chapters in Tennessee, and by the end of two years, the Friends had created a "healthy temperance sentiment" in the state.[20] They appealed to the people largely through public lectures. This order was unique in that its restrictions forbade the use even of fresh cider.[21]

In Chattanooga there was a St. Joseph Total Abstinence Society whose claim to greatness seems to have been based upon its unusually good band and the fact that only one of its 120 members contracted cholera during the epicemic of 1873.[22] There were also some other local temperance societies during the seventies. Knox County had her "Temperance Society of Brown's School House," and Clinton, her "Lights of Temperance."[23]

By May, 1877, the Murphy movement was growing rapidly in Tennessee, particularly in the vicinity of Nashville.[24] This moral-suasion, pledge-signing movement[25] originated in the mind of Francis Murphy, an Irish boardinghouse keeper of Minneapolis, who had killed one of his customers in a scuffle. While in jail he became impressed with the value of temperance and decided to devote his life to the cause.[26] In the summer of 1878, George G. Leavenworth made an extensive tour of the eastern part of the state in the interest of the movement.[27] The Murphy pledge signers, of whom there were 5,000 in Knoxville,[28] were thereafter entitled to indicate their views on the subject by wearing a blue ribbon.[29]

The most remarkable movement of the seventies was the Woman's Crusade, originated as the result of a series of lectures given in Ohio by Dr. Dio Lewis in December, 1873. Dr. Lewis described the success of the methods used in the 1830's in his boyhood town, Auburn, New York, by a group of mothers who decided to go

[18]Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle*, June 2, 1875.
[19]Nashville *Republican Banner*, July 20, 1870.
[20]*Ibid.*, August 1, 1873; Nashville *Daily American*, September 29, 1875.
[21]Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle*, February 6, September 3, 1873.
[22]Nashville *Republican Banner*, February 3, July 14, 1872; Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle*, July 30, 1873.
[23]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, August 4, 1871, December 25, 1870.
[24]Nashville *Daily American*, May 15, 1877.
[25]D. Leigh Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States* (New York, 1926), 119.
[26]Minneapolis *Tribune*, quoted in Nashville *Daily American*, June 7, 1877.
[27]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, July 30, 1878.
[28]Nashville *Daily American*, June 7, 1877.
[29]Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle*, July 10, 1878.

in bands every day to the saloons, where they would sing and pray and urge the keepers to close their bars. In a short time five of the liquor dealers of the town had yielded to their intercessions. Dr. Lewis urged that the same methods would bear fruit, although forty years had intervened. Hillsboro, Ohio, is given credit for being the birthplace of the movement and Mrs. E. J. Thompson was its first leader. The Ohio crusade lasted from December, 1873, to the following June.[30] In one of the strangest reform movements in history rum dealers were attacked with prayer and song.[31]

Greeneville was the scene of the Woman's Crusade in Tennessee. In February, 1874, a group of Greeneville women and some from the rural community of Tusculum, under the leadership of a Reverend Mr. Black and his wife, attacked with energy and perserverance the three saloons of the town. The ladies sought to close the grog shops by arguing, pleading, Bible reading, singing, and praying. In addition to these tactics, they urged the signing of total abstinence pledges. The saloon which was considered most harmful was that of Betsy Ward situated on Depot Street in a public part of town. To be sure, a special campaign was waged against her shop. A small shanty of rough plank known as "Crusade House" was constructed across from Mrs. Ward's saloon to protect the ladies from the inclement weather while they made their onslaught. Chattanooga saloon keepers, feeling that it was their duty to aid the Greeneville woman who was carrying on a legal business in an effort to support herself and family, sent her thirty dollars with the understanding that she could keep it only by refusing to close her shop. In a like manner the liquor dealers of Knoxville remembered Mrs. Ward with fifty dollars and a keg of whiskey. A special prayer meeting was held in Greeneville for these "misguided men of Chattanoga and Knoxville." Although the Greeneville movement closed two of the saloons temporarily, Mrs. Ward's bar remained open. Tennessee's Woman's Crusade was local, somewhat fanatical, extremely sensational, and void of permanent benefits to the state's temperance cause. It did, however, have a rather tragic sequence. In 1887, when the Prohibition Amendment was being submitted to the people, William Ward, the eighteen year-old son of Betsy Ward, became offended at alleged remarks about his mother and was killed in a resulting wrangle on a Greeneville street.[32]

The demands of the friends of temperance found expression

[30]Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 116.
[31]Nashville *Republican Banner*, February 5, 1874.
[32]Greeneville *American*, March 4, 1874; Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 17, 1874; Nashville *Banner*, February 27, 1901.

in Tennessee's legislation of the seventies, the agitation for local option being particularly intense. In 1870 a group of citizens appealed to the constitutional convention to incorporate the principle in the new constitution. An amendment giving the general assembly authority to grant by general law local option privileges to the subordinate units of government was introduced, but it failed on February 12, 1870, by a vote of 29 to 28. A motion to study the proposition further was carried, but on the day set for this business the convention refused to reconsider the defeated measure.[33] This particular action of the constitutional convention is of special significance in that it made the state's law-makers for a long period of time dubious of the constitutionality of local option legislation.

Early in 1871 two attempts to secure for the people the right to prohibit the sale of intoxicants failed.[34] These defeats seemed to spur the temperance advocates on to greater activity. The legislature of 1873 was flooded with petitions begging for various prohibition laws. As a result numerous bills were introduced. The Senate Committee on Tippling and Tippling Houses, realizing the laboriousness of its task, returned a number of the bills and in their stead prepared and introduced a single measure entitled "an act to provide against the evils resulting from the sale of intoxicating liquors in the state."[35] The bill required that all persons wishing to secure tippling licenses to sell in incorporated towns must make application to the county court clerk, and twenty days later an election should be held wherein the people of the local unit would be given the opportunity to vote "for license" or "against license." If a majority of the qualified voters opposed such a license, then it would be unlawful to issue it. The bill made it illegal to sell to minors without the written consent of parents or guardians, to persons already intoxicated, and to habitual drunkards whose wives or dependent relatives had served notice on the tippler. Druggists were permitted to sell for two purposes only: sacramental and medicinal.[36] The bill passed both the senate and the house, but it was vetoed by Governor John C. Brown, who took the position that it had been illegally passed and that it gave the people a power which did not constitutionally belong to them. The measure, he said, was a senate bill, and upon being transmitted to the house it was adopted in lieu of a house bill. The senate bill that was presented for his signature had

[33]Nashville *Republican Banner,* February 2,13, 15, 17, 1870.
[34]Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal,* 1870-1871, p. 377;*ibid.,* 1871, pp. 312-13; *House Journal,* 1871, p. 854.
[35]Senate *Journal,* 1873, p. 237.
[36]Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle,* March 26, 1873.

not been read and passed on three different days in each house as required by law. Then, too, Governor Brown reasoned that the power to make laws had been delegated to the general assembly by the people. This body consequently had no authority to pass legislation which could be suspended by a majority of the qualified voters of a civil district.[37] After 1873 the agitation for local option was continued and was especially favored by the Order of Good Templars.[38] In 1875 a bill containing the local option idea passed the senate, but was lost in the house.[39] Numerous memorials came to the legislature in 1877 and 1879. In spite of these appeals and the energetic efforts of the temperance people to creat public sentiment, a local option bill was again defeated in the house in 1879 by a vote of 33 to 27.[40]

The initial step in the constructive anti-liquor legislation of the state was taken by the University of the South, an Episcopal school located at Sewanee in Franklin County.[41] As early as 1870, Major G. R. Fairbanks, the business manager of the school, realized the need of improving the general conduct of the people adjacent to the University's domain.[42] As a remedial measure he resorted to the special school charter idea of the preceding decade and in 1873 and 1875 attempted to have bills passed especially for his institution. This legislation would have prohibited the sale of intoxicants within specific distances of the school.[43] After finding that such local measures were illegal under the new constitution,[44] Major Fairbanks advocated a general bill which was passed on March 19, 1877.[45] This act made it unlawful to dispense an intoxicating beverage within four miles of an incorporated institution of learning within the state, but its provisions did not apply to sales within incorporated towns, to persons holding an unexpired license, or to wholesalers.[46] This so-called Four Mile Law was a significant piece of temperance legislation. It brought local prohibition to numerous rural areas over the state, and its gradual extension completely drove the saloons

[37] *Senate Journal*, 1873, pp. 384, 456-65; *House Journal*, 1873, pp. 437-38, 209, 228, 414.

[38] Nashville *Daily American*, October 20, 1875.

[39] *Senate Journal*, 1875, pp. 563-64; *House Journal*, 1875, p. 715.

[40] *House Journal*, 1879, 1 sess., 782.

[41] Tennessee Anti-Saloon League History (anonymous manuscript found in the office of the Tennessee Anti-Saloon League, Nashville, Tennessee).

[42] Mrs. R. L. Dudney, Registrar, University of the South, to the writer, December 9, 1936.

[43] *House Journal*, 1873, p. 25; *Senate Journal*, 1875, p. 490.

[44] Joshua W. Caldwell, *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* (Cincinnati, 1907), 398.

[45] *Senate Journal*, 1877, 1 sess., 489, 519, 554; *House Journal*, 1877, 1 sess., 551, 691, 756.

[46] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee*, 1877, 1 sess., 37.

from Tennessee thirty-two years later. The temperance people, however, were unduly ambitious in the use of this law. In 1881 it was necessary for the state supreme court to decide that the Four Mile Law was enforceable only around incorporated schools, and could not be applied to free schools as had been attempted in DeKalb County.[47]

In June, 1870, a law was enacted which made it a misdemeanor for any state or county officer to be in such "a state of drunkenness as to incapacitate him for the proper and rational discharge of the duties of his office."[48] During the seventies the temperance people failed in their attempts to prevent the sale of whiskey to inebriates[49] and to minors.[50] They were no more fortunate in their efforts to make liquor dealers responsible for all damages that were traceable to their intoxicated customers.[51] The whiskey interests on their part failed during this period to secure a reduction in taxes and exemption from oath and bond not to sell adulterated liquors.[52] They were successful, however, in the passage of an act which prohibited druggists from selling without a license except for sacramental and medicinal purposes.[53]

In addition to their legislative program, the friends of temperance carried on various activities, the purpose of which was to build up public sentiment for the cause. Many temperance stories were published in the newspapers. *Ten Nights in a Bar Room,* showing the results of excessive drinking, was one of the most popular stage plays of the period.[54] There were suggestions of destroying the saloons by establishing in the cities places in which to spend leisure time that would be far more attractive and less expensive.[55] It was pointed out that from the viewpoint of the government, the saloons were a financial failure; for example, the citizens of Memphis in 1872 paid $1,825,000 to the dram shops, while these in turn paid to the city in taxes only $23,000.[56] Also, the schools of Washington County were reported to be carrying on extensive temperance programs.[57]

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[47]James Harrison *v.* the State, 15 Lea, 721.
[48]*Acts,* 1870, 2 sess., 71.
[49]*Senate Journal,* 1871, p. 273; *ibid.,* 1873, p. 237; *House Journal,* 1873, p. 463.
[50]*Senate Journal,* 1871, p. 184; *ibid.,* 1873, p. 408; *House Journal,* 1879, 1 sess., 573.
[51]*Senate Journal,* 1873, p. 56.
[52]Nashville *Republican Banner,* November 17, 1871; *Senate Journal,* 1872, pp. 23, 30.
[53]*Acts,* 1870, 2 sess., 86.
[54]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle,* March 8,1871.
[55]*Ibid.,* April 14, 1872.
[56]Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle,* May 1, 1872.
[57]Jonesboro *Herald and Tribune,* cited in Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle,* April 30, 1872.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the temperance people, there was a steady increase in the amount of liquor manufactured and sold within the state during the seventies. Beer and whiskey were used extensively for the treatment of cholera in 1873, and when the epidemic was at its worst, more drunken men were reported in Chattanooga than ever before. In 1874 the amount of whiskey held in bond in the Nashville revenue district broke all previous records, and in September, 1875, 27,919 gallons were sold there. In March of the same year Charles Nelson, the leading wholesaler of the city, paid over $1,000 a day in federal taxes.[58] In May, 1879, 87,460 gallons of whiskey were manufactured in the Nashville district. Government revenue from liquor increased throughout the state. Tennessee on the whole was noted for the quality as well as the quantity of her drinkables; by 1877 the state had a national reputation for her "pure and fine whiskies and apple and peach brandies," the products of Robertson County being particularly well known.[59]

The organization and growth of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was one of the most significant non-political temperance developments in Tennessee from 1880 to 1889. The national W.C.T.U., a direct result of the Woman's Crusade, was created at a temperance convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in November, 1874. This convention, attended by delegates from seventeen states, adopted a constitution, written by Miss Frances E. Willard, which contained the total abstinence pledge and a promise to work against the liquor traffic. The national organization bent its efforts immediately toward the creation of unions in all the states.[60]

Mrs. J. C. Johnson of Memphis was largely responsible for the early development of the W.C.T.U. in Tennessee. Mrs. Johnson entertained Miss Willard, who toured the South during the early eighties, and became so much interested in her mission that in February, 1882, the Memphis unit of the W.C.T.U. was established. On October 22 of the same year, five Tennessee women, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Sam Watson, and a Mrs. Hawks from Memphis, and Mrs. E. I. Roach and a Mrs. Baker from McKenzie met in Nashville with some temperance leaders from other states and organized a state union with Mrs. Johnson as president. During the first year the growth of the W.C.T.U. was far from encouraging. Of the eleven unions organized, only four survived. Mrs. Johnson died in

[58]Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle*, July 23, 1873; Nashville *Republican Banner*, July 9, 1874, April 11, 1875; Nashville *Daily American*, October 6, 1875.

[59]*Ibid.*, June 11, 1879.

[60]*Union Signal* (Evanston, Illinois), March 1, 1906; Anna A. Gordon, *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard* (Chicago, 1898), 107.

April of 1883, and was succeeded by Mrs. Lide Merriwether, who served as state president until 1887, when Mrs. A. A. Gibson of Athens was elected. Two years later Mrs. Silena Moore of Fayetteville was placed at the head of the organization, and under her leadership the W.C.T.U. made notable progress.[61] In 1894 there were thirty-three white and three colored unions in the state. The following year thirty-five white and five colored unions were reported. In 1896 there was an increase of seven unions and 110 members, and at that time the state organization had twenty-five departments of work, conducted by fifteen superintendents. In 1898 there were fifty-nine unions with 561 paying members.[62]

To promote the temperance cause, the W.C.T.U. engaged in various activities. Its work among the Negroes was outstanding, particularly in Harriman, Athens, Maryville, and Nashville.[63] A successful fight was made for scientific temperance instruction in the public schools. Public sentiment was created in support of the prohibition amendment.[64] The Chattanooga union in 1898 established "Soldiers Rest," where various comforts, temperance leaflets, and Testaments were provided for the soldiers encamped at Chickamauga Park. Temperance schools and Loyal Temperance Legions were established throughout the state for boys and girls.[65]

Other temperance organizations were also active in the state during the period. The St. Mary's Catholic Total Abstinence Society was founded in Knoxville to train Catholic youth "in the path of morality and sobriety."[66] In 1896 Junior Prohibition Leagues were organized among the young people of Middle Tennessee. Both of these groups were affiliated with national organizations.[67] The Sons of Temperance and the Order of Good Templars remained intact during the period, but with the exception of the year 1883, during which the Templars did good work, the activities of these organizations seem to have been confined to social affairs, particularly picnics.[68] Many of the local temperance societies of the eighties and

[61]Lilian W. Johnson, Temperance Scrapbook (Tennessee State Library, Nashville). Lilian W. Johnson was a daughter of Mrs. J. C. Johnson. Carroll County *Democrat*, October 10, 1902.

[62]*Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the W.C.T.U. of Tennessee* (Athens, 1894-1899), 1894, p. 46; 1895, pp. 4, 8; *The Union Signal*, January 21, 1897; *Daily Progress* (Harriman), April 6, 1896.

[63]*Tennessee W.C.T.U. Minutes*, 1894, p. 6; 1895, p. 8.

[64]*Woman's Appeal* (Jonesboro), September, 1887.

[65]*Union Signal*, September 1, 1898.

[66]Knoxville *Tribune*, October 15, 1894.

[67]Nashville *American*, April 30, August 7, 1896; Knoxville *Tribune*, January 14, 1895.

[68]Nashville *Daily American*, October 17, 1883.

nineties seem to have been sponsored by churches.[69]

In Tennessee, as in three-fourths of the other states,[70] the predominating temperance effort of the eighties was directed toward the addition of a prohibition amendment to the constitution. The advocates of the cause were somewhat disappointed in 1882 when a constitutional convention to which they had planned to appeal was voted down. In 1883 a number of resolutions proposing the desired amendment were introduced in the house, but no action was taken on them. In 1885, however, John H. McDowell, senator from Obion, Dyer, and Lake counties and a member of the Committee on the Suppression of Intemperance, introduced a joint resolution into the senate proposing the following amendment:

> No person shall manufacture for sale or keep for sale as a beverage any intoxicating liquors whatever, including wine, ale, and beer. The General Assembly shall by law prescribe regulations for the enforcement of the Prohibition herein contained, and shall thereby provide suitable penalties for the violation of the provision thereof.

On February 20 the resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 11, and on March 30 it passed the house by a vote of 59 to 20.[71] This victory brought much rejoicing, but the fight was not over. Since the amendment must be approved by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the general assembly of 1887, the "drys" turned their attention to the election of men who were friendly to the cause. The question in 1886 brought no little anxiety to both Democrats and Republicans. The temperance people had rather prudently kept the movement out of politics, and political leaders, fearing the loss of votes, hesitated to take a stand on the question.[72] Finally, however, both parties incorporated in their platforms planks favoring submission. The Republicans admittedly evaded the real issue by merely recognizing the right of the people to vote on the proposed amendment. The Democrats came out boldly for submission, but at the same time they affirmed support of the national Democratic platform which expressed opposition to all "sumptuary laws," thus rendering themselves liable to the charge of inconsistency, since the term sumptuary laws included anti-liquor laws. The real issue in the campaign, however, was the amendment itself rather than the abstract theory of submission, as is evidenced by the fact the liquor

[69]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, May 5, 1880; Knoxville *Tribune*, May 4, 1894.

[70]Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America* (Westerville, Ohio, 1920), 176.

[71]*Senate Journal*, 1885, 1 sess., 79, 136, 321; *House Journal*, 1885, 1 sess., 689.

[72]Nashville *Banner*, February 22, 1886; Daniel Merritt Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 27.

interests opposed submission, while the prohibitionists were its most earnest advocates.[73] Both Governor Robert L. Taylor and a majority of the lawmakers favored the proposition. As a result, a resolution submitting the proposed amendment to a vote of the people on September 29 passed both houses by considerably more than the required two-thirds majority.[74]

Both the "drys" and "wets" then turned their attention to the creation of a public sentiment in favor of their interests. The liquor people contended that the amendment would reduce public revenue, destroy the democratic principles of liberty, injure the state's industries, and create an illegal liquor traffic.[75] The friends of the proposed measure appointed committees to work for a large attendance at the polls. Prohibition columns were carried in the Nashville *Banner*. The Jonesboro W.C.T.U., in addition to furnishing decorations, music, and free lunches on election day, published a special paper, *The Woman's Appeal,* to win support for the cause. The advocates of the amendment pointed out that it would not prohibit the manufacturing of intoxicants for one's own use or for medical and sacramental purposes. Figures were produced to show that the more saloons a county had, the greater its number of prisoners in the state penitentiary. More than four hundred convicts in the main prison at Nashville, supposedly upon their own initiative, issued an appeal to the people for the support of the amendment, declaring that three-fourths of the state's criminals owed their condition to intoxicating liquors. It was contended that the liquor traffic was a financial loss; Washington County, for example, paid $2,618 for expenses directly traceable to the saloons while the saloons in turn paid only $750 in taxes.[76]

On September 29, 1887, a total of 252,701 votes was cast, exceeding by more than 17,000 the total gubernatorial vote of 1886. The votes against the amendment numbered 135,197, and those for it 117,504. Although the temperance people were defeated in the state as a whole, they won outstanding victories in East Tennessee.[77] In 1890 the president of the state W.C.T.U., Mrs. Silena Moore Holman, declared that the defeat of 1887 could be attributed to the fact that the women were not voting citizens.[78] Others contended that

[73]Nashville *Banner,* June 16, August 31, October 14, 1886.

[74]Message of Gov. Robert L. Taylor, *Senate Journal,* 1887, *Appendix* (unpaged).

[75]Joseph H. Acklen, *Anti-Prohibition Speech* (delivered at Waverly, Tenessee, September 21, 1887, printed copy in Tennessee State Library).

[76]Minutes of the Jonesboro W.C.T.U. (MS in the office of the Jonesboro W.C.T.U.), September 15, 28, 1887; *Woman's Appeal,* September, 1887.

[77]Nashville *Banner,* October 13, 1887.

[78]*Stenographic Report,* November 12, 1890 (A supplement to the *Union Signal,* November 18, 1890).

the extensive use of money and the control of the political machines of both parties by the liquor interests were responsible for the result.[79]

After 1880 there was a marked difference of opinion concerning the success of the Four Mile Law. The people of Carthage reported that conditions had greatly improved since a surrender of the charter had made the law applicable to their town. Lebanon and Maryville rejoiced over the fact that abolition of their incorporations had driven the saloon from their counties. Greeneville, on the other hand, felt that repeal of her charter had not been wise: municipal taxes had been lost, and the cost of prosecuting the violators of the Four Mile Law far exceeded the fines collected.[80] Both groups appealed to the legislature. L.L. Hawkins of the Committee on Tippling and Tippling Houses reported that 21,000 persons had signed a petition asking for the repeal of the Four Mile Law, while 28,000 had voiced opposition to repeal.[81] The lawmakers responded by proposing a mass of legislation. Two bills provided for complete repeal of the existing law.[82] Other bills proposed that the law be made applicable to incorporated towns of less than a certain population, their limitation figures ranging from 100 to 10,000.[83] One bill would have made the sale of intoxicants near churches illegal;[84] another would have prohibited "the sale of, delivery of, or receiving of money for intoxicating liquors within four miles of a chartered institution of learning, by any common carriers or their agents."[85]

Of the great number of bills introduced from 1881 to 1889 attempting to manipulate the Four Mile Law only two were enacted. In March, 1883, the law was made applicable to taxing districts of the second class;[86] this term referred to towns of less than 30,000 inhabitants which were governed by three commissioners appointed by the county court after the charter of incorporation had been repealed.[87] This law, however, was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court. The court reasoned that since a taxing district was only a municipal corporation under a different name, the law did not apply to all persons in a like state and circumstance, and consequently was a partial rather than a general law.[88] This judic-

[79]Colvin, *Prohibition in the U. S.*, 203.
[80]Nashville *Banner*, February 9, 1886; *Daily American*, April 3, 1880, January 11, 1881, March 14, 1883.
[81]Knoxville *Whig and Chronicle*, March 16, 1881.
[82]*House Journal*, 1883, p. 403; 1891, 1 sess., 404.
[83]*Ibid.*, 1883, p. 558; *Senate Journal*, 1885, 1 sess., 77, 181; 1891, 1 sess., 29.
[84]*Ibid.*, 1891, 1 sess., 348.
[85]*Ibid.*, 1891, 1 sess., 29.
[86]*Acts*, 1883, p. 257.
[87]*Ibid.*, 1881, p. 174.
[88]Wm. Hatcher and Jack Lea *v.* the State, 12 Lea, 370.

ial interpretation is rather significant; hereafter no city could abolish its charter, drive out its saloons, and at the same time enjoy any of the benefits of local government. In March, 1887, it became illegal to sell intoxicants within four miles of any school house, public or private.[89] This legislation had rather far-reaching results; it destroyed the local nature of the Four Mile Law and abolished sale by retail in practically all the rural districts of the state.[90]

From 1880 to 1882 the agitation for local option was unusually strong in Tennessee. Knoxville appears to have been the center of the movement. As a result of the work of the local option society of that city fifty memorials were sent to the legislature. On March 10, 1881, the chairman of the House Committee on Tippling and Tippling Houses reported that 21,067 petitions asking for local option had been received. So strong were the prospects for legislation, the liquor dealers did no more than keep up their stock. Soon after the general assembly met in 1881, a bill was introduced in the house designed to grant towns and cities of more than 5,000 population the privilege of voting every two years on the question of whether or not licenses would be granted to tipplers. In spite of the strong public sentiment in favor of this bill, it failed by a vote of 35 to 28; a motion to reconsider the vote also failed.[91] After 1883 there was a decline in local option agitation. This situation can be explained by the numerous defeats which the measure had met and the rise of new prohibition movements which absorbed the interest of the people.

Noteworthy indeed in the history of temperance is the founding of the town of Harriman, Tennessee, the first industrial-prohibition city of the country. The idea was conceived by Frederick Gate of New York who believed that temperance made for industrial progress. He persuaded a group of outstanding prohibitionists, including Professor A. A. Hopkins and General Clinton B. Fisk, to aid him in the establishment of a business, the main objective of which was to prove that industrial success was a certainty where the liquor traffic and drinking habit were banned. As a result, the East Tennessee Land Company was organized in October, 1889. This company purchased several thousand acres of land at what is now the city of Harriman, and on February 26, 1890, the "great sale" began. In three days 300 lots were sold for a total sum of $600,000. Three thousand men, representing fifteen states, were present. In all the deeds the "no saloon clause" was inserted. This clause declared that

[89] *Acts*, 1887, p. 293.

[90] Anti-Saloon League History. An anonymous typewritten history of the Tennessee Anti-Saloon League (Office of the Anti-Saloon League, Nashville, Tenn.).

[91] *House Journal*, 1881, 1 sess., 534, 753; Nashville *Daily American*, June 10, 1880, March 4, 1881; Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle*, February 2, 1881.

the purchaser should not use his premises or knowingly allow them to be used for the purpose of "manufacturing, storing or selling intoxicating liquors as a beverage"; if property was used for such purposes, the deed became null and void and the land again became the property of the company. Incidentally, there is no record of any property's having been reclaimed.[92] Preachers and prohibitionists from all parts of the country, especially from the East, came to Harriman.

Although Harriman was conceded to be an industrial failure after the depression of 1893, it was always considered a moral success. In the second year of the city's existence, eight churches were holding regular services. From the beginning the ladies were active along prohibition lines, their W.C.T.U. becoming the most outstanding union in the state. They sponsored the building of Temperance Temple, the only establishment of its kind in Tennessee. The Temple had a large auditorium for instructive entertainment and smaller rooms for religious and temperance groups. Financial difficulties. however, confronted the enterprise at the outset, and the ladies were finally forced to sell the building. Another outstanding temperance organization was Harriman's Loyal Temperance Legion under the direction of Mrs. Jennie Manley. It had 160 members in 1896, and during the following three years it was the state's banner legion.[93]

In 1892 a group of the leading men in Harriman undertook a unique educational enterprise, the American Temperance University. The East Tennessee Land Company donated $70,000, and Dr. J. F. Spence, a noted educator of the state, became the first chancellor, with thirty-three eminent temperance men and women composing the board of trustees. Nondenominational and coeducational, the school's major objective was the training of young people for leadership in civic and prohibition activities. In 1896 the University had eleven distinct departments, one of which was designated as the "Department of Prohibition, Physiology, and Narcotics."[94] In 1880 the national W.C.T.U. had begun fighting for the passage of an educational law which would require in connection with the teaching of physiology and hygiene emphasis upon the effects of alcohol on the human body.[95] By 1883 the need for such legislation was recognized in Tennessee by temperance lecturers and teachers.[96] In 1891

[92] *Pioneer Times*, May 27, 1916; Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, August 25, 1936.
[93] *Pioneer Times*, May 27, 1916; *Union Signal*, September 7, 1893; *Open Door*, June1, 1900; *Daily Progress*, April 6, 1896.
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Stenographic Report*, November 27, 1890.
[96] Nashville *Daily American*, January 28, May 3, 1883.

a bill providing for the scientific study of temperance was tabled in the house, and in 1893 three house bills and one senate bill for the same purpose quietly and quickly passed into oblivion.[97] In April, 1895, however, a bill providing for "certain studies in public schools" passed the house by a vote of 66 to 13 and the senate by a vote of 26 to 2.[98]

Year after year the dry element in Tennessee appealed to the general assembly for additional laws regulating the liquor traffic. As a result there was a mass of legislation, proposed and enacted, which cannot be treated as a part of any one of the major temperance movements. In 1881 it became unlawful for any person (or his employees) engaged in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants to sell or give to a minor without the written consent of the parents, guardian, or head of the school attended by the minor.[99] In 1883 the penalties provided in the law of 1881 prohibiting sale to minors were extended to persons selling or giving intoxicants to any husband who was an habitual drunkard after they had been served with a written notice by the wife of such a husband.[100] Bills designed to prevent drunkards from being pharmacists or storekeepers,[101] to prevent doctors from prescribing for patients while drunk,[102] to bring intoxicating bitters within the provisions of the Four Mile Law,[103] to prohibit sale to juries during court sessions,[104] and to provide absolute prohibition for the state[105] failed.

In addition to state laws the liquor traffic was subject to a number of local ordinances. Retailers paid heavy municipal taxes: Chattanooga, for example, charged $250 for a tippler's license. Columbia required all saloons to be closed from eleven p.m. to four a.m. and imposed a five dollar fine for public drunkenness. A Jonesboro law closed the saloon of that town at dark. Chattanooga and Nashville had local ordinances forbidding tippling on Sunday. Oftentimes public opinion and a kind of mob violence regulated the activities of tipplers; thirty-five saloon keepers in Nashville, because of the agitation of local ministers, agreed to close their places of business during week-day religious services. In Dickson, after an intoxicated

[97] *House Journal*, 1893, pp. 264, 284, 298, 258, 264; *Senate Journal*, 1893, p. 312.

[98] *House Journal*, 1895, 1 sess., 427; *Senate Journal*, 1895, 1 sess., 427; *Acts*, 1895, 1 sess., 378. The term "certain studies" refers to courses in physiology and hygiene which would emphasize the effects of alcoholic drinks, cigarettes, and narcotics upon the human system.

[99] *Acts*, 1881, 1 sess., 105; 1891, 1 sess., 338.

[100] *Acts*, 1883, p. 199.

[101] *House Journal*, 1893, pp. 93, 364.

[102] *Senate Journal*, 1897, p. 541; *House Journal*, 1897, p. 1003.

[103] *Ibid*, 1883, p. 819; *Senate Journal*, 1885, 1 sess., 855.

[104] *Ibid.*, 1881-1882, p. 476; *House Journal*, 1881-1882, p. 568.

[105] *Ibid.*, 1883, p. 370; 1885, 1 sess., 544.

man had been killed by a train, a group of influential citizens confiscated the whiskey of the saloons.[106]

After 1880 the temperance people used the press more extensively in advancing their cause. *The Prohibition Advocate,* edited by the Rev. Mr. A. Futrell, was the leading prohibition paper in the early eighties. *The Southern Broadaxe,* which was edited in Nashville by R. A. Campbell and was the first organ of the Temperance Alliance, was being sent to 122 different post offices in the state in 1883. *The Issue,* the official publication of the Temperance Alliance and later of the Prohibition party, was started in Nashville in 1885 by George W. Armistead and within eighteen months had 5,000 subscribers in the South.[107] There appears to have been only one issue of *The Woman's Appeal,* which was published by the Jonesboro W.C.T.U. in September, 1887, apparently for the sole purpose of creating public sentiment in favor of the prohibition amendment.[108] The *Christian Advocate,* a paper of the Methodist Church, published in Nashville, *The Pilot,* published in the same city by James Tate, and *The Harriman Advance,* published by Wilbur F. Colvin, were not strictly temperance papers, but they devoted much space to the cause.[109] The W.C.T.U. did not have a state organ until after 1900, but that organization carried on an extensive press work, and space was generously donated by numerous newspapers over the state.[110]

The activities of Tennessee's temperance people from 1870 to 1899 were both numerous and vigorous. The Four Mile Law was an accomplishment of substantial value; the state W.C.T.U. had grown into an organization of influence; a temperance education law had been enacted; local option agitation was to lead to the Anti-Saloon League; and the press had begun to be used effectively in the cause. The efforts of these particular years served as a foundation for the notable victories of a later period.

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[106]Nashville *Daily American,* February 21, 1885, March 13, 1887, March 25, January 8, 1883, September 12, 1889, June 12, February 21, 1893, August 15, 1892; Nashville *American,* December 22, 1895; Minutes of Jonesboro W.C.T.U., October 2, 1890.

[107]Nashville *Daily American,* April 22, 1882, May 23, 1884, February 18, 1887; Nashville *Daily World,* June 10, 1883.

[108]*Woman's Appeal;* Minutes of the Jonesboro W.C.T.U., September 15, 1887.

[109]Nashville *American,* April 3, 1896.

[110]*Tennessee W.C.T.U. Minutes,* 1894, p. 33.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND OF THOMAS HUGHES' RUGBY COLONY IN TENNESSEE

By W. H. G. Armytage

Tom Hughes spent his life planning New Jerusalems. They were originally intended for England's green and pleasant land, but a series of circumstances forced him to modify his views considerably, till in the end he staked his fortune on the settlement of Rugby, Tennessee. Hitherto, the absence of a biography has made it difficult to understand what lay behind the Tennessee project, and the only study of the American Rugby, based almost entirely on American sources, appeared twenty years ago.[1] It is now possible, however, to draw upon four collections of unpublished correspondence which do much to explain the origin and history of the colony.[2]

Important to an understanding of the background of the colony is the growing estrangement between Tom Hughes and the leaders of working class movements. From 1848, when he threw himself heart and soul into the Christian Socialist movement, to 1865, when he was elected to Parliament as a member for the sprawling constituency of Lambeth, he was the staunch friend of the Trade Unions. He helped them in their strikes, enlisted rich and powerful patrons like Lord Goderich (later Lord Ripon) to help them over the expenses of paying strike pay, and in his way worked to enlist them in the Co-operative movement. In fact, during these seventeen years he was in a sense the only powerful pen at the service of the Trade Unions, and as such, his services are chronicled by the Webbs.[3] The high-watermark of his loyalty to them was his defence of the Trade Societies of Sheffield in the *Spectator* on October 26, 1866, helping to clear them of the odious charges of murder.[4]

But the Unions could not wait for the New Jerusalem. Under a

[1]Marguerite B. Hamer, "Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh, 1924–), V (October, 1928), 391-413.

[2]The Howell Correspondence (in the Bishopsgate Institute, London); the Mundella Correspondence (in the Sheffield University Library); the Gladstone Papers and the Ripon Papers (both in the MSS. Room in the British Museum, London). Material from the contemporary British newspapers has been used, for Hughes was a regular contributor to the *Spectator*, and, as the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, was always worth reporting.

[3]Sydney and Beatrice Webb, *A History of Trade Unionism* (London, 1920), 216, 227, 244, 282.

[4]See *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 193, No. 7 (London, 1948), 145-148, for an account of these outrages which included the hamstringing of horses, the blowing up of houses, and the murder of a non-unionist.

team of shrewd organisers and orators they began to build up large benefit balances, eschew strikes, and openly canvass for political objectives whose very secularity caused Hughes to fight shy of committing himself. This growing shyness is well illustrated in his correspondence with George Howell, the ubiquitous secretary of most of the working class movements centered in London during the sixties.[5] Howell, as secretary of the Reform League and the London Trades Council, did much to secure the election of Hughes as Member of Parliament for Lambeth in 1865. But even at this hour of his greatest affinity with the cause, Hughes wrote to Howell: "I will join the Reform League, reserving my own views as to the ballot, which you understand, that is to say, if you think I am eligible with this reservation. I will talk to you as to being a Vice-President when we meet."[6] In the end, he gave a yearly guinea and wrote: "I wish I could give more, and perhaps may be able to do so, but I do not like to pledge myself more deeply."[7]

As Howell and the others plunged deeper into the agitation for legal recognition and the right to vote, Hughes became even more shy. He began to decline invitations to speak at Reform League meetings; and in February, 1867, he wrote: "I have considered the matter as carefully as I can and have come to the conclusion that I shall serve the cause of Reform better by not speaking as the meeting at Islington on Monday. As this is so I had better not be there. A man can only act according to his honest convictions."[8]

A number of factors were operating to widen the rift between him and the Unions. The first was his change of seat. After the 1868 election, when the Liberals were swept into power on the first exercise of the artisan vote, Hughes exchanged sprawling, working-class Lambeth for the safer country constituency of Frome. A year later he became a Queen's Councilor and in 1870 a bencher of Lincoln's Inn. A second factor was his interest in the Church Reform Union and his opposition to any attempts to disestablish the Church of England. He was absent from the early Trade Union Congresses, and the middle class leadership of the Unions devolved on the positivist Frederic Harrison, Henry Crompton, and A.J. Mundella. He wrote to the last of these: "I am sorry the Trade Union Congress ran amuck at the Criminal Law Amendment Act -I warned them not to do it, and only to go for a modification of

[5]He was secretary of the London Trades Council, 1861-62; of the Reform League, 1864-67; of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, 1871-75; and of the Plimsoll Fund, 1873.

[6]June 1, 1865, Howell Correspondence.

[7]July 23, 1865, *ibid.*

[8]February 9, 1867, *ibid.*

subsection 3 of clause 1. I for one won't go in for total repeal and have so written to the *Co-operative News*."[9]

In the seventies the Trade Unions had no need of middle class patronage. With their large balances, the industrious George Howell as secretary of their newly-constituted Parliamentary Committee, and the open friendliness of opportunist politicians, they could dispense with Hughes' services. Hughes was absent from the Sheffield Congress of 1874 which decided the fate of the Liberal party at the ensuing elections. Hughes lost his seat at Frome. What was worse, he accepted a position on the Royal Commission set up by the Conservatives to examine the position of Trade Unions, a Commission which the Unions themselves thought was unnecessary and a bar to legislation in their favour. Hughes applied to Howell for a list of prosecutions suffered by Unionists during the previous session, together with any other evidence which might shorten the inquiry, saying:

I don't ask the Parliamentary Committee to recognise the Commission in any way, but merely to give me at my request copies of documents of public interest which they are desirous to circulate or at any rate not afraid to circulate.

If you can let me have these it will save me labour, and help on the chance of speedy legislation without in the least compromising your position. You do not recognise the Commission or me as Commissioner, but, for old acquaintance sake, or out of courtesy, give me copies of documents which you would not refuse probably to any decent stranger.[10]

Such language showed that hard words had been spoken.

Service on this commission served as a suitable excuse for not attending the Trade Union Congress of 1875, when he wrote:

I am in the agonies of settling this reform—which will take all my spare time and force for some time, and in any case I could scarcely come till the Commission is defunct. I was away when your note came and am sorry it has been overlooked till this moment.[11]

In 1876, when the Unions received the virtual right to picket, a

[9]January 20, 1872. Mundella Correspondence. This was a reference to the Trade Union Congress held at Mundella's home town of Nottingham a fortnight earlier, when an ambitious programme of social reform was adopted. The failure of the Liberals to carry out this programme was largely responsible for their defeat in 1874 and the return of the Conservatives.

[10]March 25, 1874, Howell Correspondence. One of the first acts of the Conservative Government was an attempt to redeem the promise to repeal the Master and Servant Act by appointing a Royal Commission on the Labour Laws. The Trade Union Parliamentary Committee, of which Howell was secretary, disapproved of this subterfuge, and declared that legislation, not inquiry, was wanted. Consequently, all those "friends of labour" who accepted seats on the committee were but coldly regarded as conniving at this "betrayal."

[11]January 13, 1875, *ibid.*

formal vote of thanks was forwarded to Hughes for his past efforts, to which he replied:

> As to such work as I was able to do in past years, it was done, I trust, with no eye to reward of any kind, except the consciousness of helping a just cause to the best of one's power. This I shall always retain, while acknowledging how full of error and weakness one's best efforts have been. The present position and prospects of the labour position in England, though full of difficulty, are to my mind, also full of hope.
>
> At any rate, their future is practically in the hands of the workpeople themselves. (as I have always worked and striven that it should be) and it is for them to show that they can rise to the new situation and prove themselves patriotic and true Englishmen who can put their country before their class. It is quite natural that a new generation should turn to new admirers, and I certainly am neither sad nor sorry that it should be so. If they should ever want help or advice from me, it will always be very readily given, and in any case I shall always watch their efforts with the deepest interest, tempered I am bound to add (in view of much that has happened of late) with no little anxiety.[12]

His anxiety was well-founded. The Unions, by participating in political agitation, had set in motion machinery which was quite alien to the personal, humane association of co-operators which Hughes had hoped to establish. Their militant class attitude estranged him, and his eyes turned elsewhere for the New Jerusalem.

As the ties binding him to the Trade Unions loosened, he began to forge new links with the great democracy across the Atlantic. Decisive in this respect was his first visit to the United States, undertaken in August, 1870. He went to meet Lowell, whose *Biglow Papers* he had edited for an English publisher. Indeed, there was much in the philosophy of Hosea Biglow that was congenial to Hughes himself, and he often quoted with approval the line, "Conciliate—that jest means *be kicked,*" which might have been his motto. He liked to see in himself the most angular of Anglo-Saxons—an English Hosea who had been through Rugby.

Lowell impressed Hughes so much that he wrote in a private letter to his wife: "I have never met a more agreeable talker and his kindness to me is quite unbounded. Then he has not a grain

[12] July 13, 1876, *ibid.* Hughes continued to foster the Co-operative movement, hoping that it would turn to co-operative production, as well as co-operative distribution. His appointment as head of the Working Men's College enabled him to maintain his ideals, but it served to draw him still further away from the new generation of labour leaders like Burt, Broadhurst, and Howell, to say nothing of Bradlaugh, who was a militant atheist. Even in the Co-operative movement Hughes was faced with the unbelievers like G. J. Holyoake, whom he never ceased to oppose. Hughes' constant friend throughout these activities was Lord Ripon, a Liberal who was Lord President of the Council, 1868-74, and went over to the Roman Catholic faith at the end of his term of office. Ripon's profound religious feeling redeemed him from being just another of the great Whigs.

of vanity in his composition, but is as simple and truthful as the best kind of boy."[13] On the first of September Hughes ascended the monument on Bunker Hill, taking with him Lowell, who did it for the first time, no small feat since the day was very hot. This restless energy in lionizing men and places made Hughes hunt up all his acquaintances in Boston. There were Holmes Junior, Howells, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and of course, the autocrat of the breakfast table himself. The society and scenery were so charming that he wrote: "I have never seen a place I would so soon live in out of England as in one of these houses looking on to Boston Common."[14] There were dinners in Boston, where other notables entertained him—Senator Sumner, Secretary Boutwell, and Emerson.

Hughes seemed to regard it as his mission to convince all the influential people he met that Britain was very friendly and well disposed towards the United States. He found John Murray Forbes, the great railroad magnate, "deeply grieved and prejudiced" at Britain's conduct; so he confessed, "[I] set myself to work hard to remove all this as far as I could. As he is a very energetic and influential man, it is worth taking any amount of trouble about, and I think I succeeded." Forbes invited him to Naushon Island to stay, and Hughes accepted, learning many of the famous war songs like "Marching through Georgia," "John Brown," and others. Forbes' parting gift was a set of free passes over almost all the western railways. More dinners on the road to New York followed, and Hughes could write, "I am at last quite sure that I am doing some good with some of these men, all of whom are influential, and most of them sadly prejudiced against us still as a nation."[15]

At New York he surrendered himself completely to the enthusiasm which his visit seemed to arouse, writing:

> Certainly I never saw, heard of, or could imagine anything like the hospitality. It is no doubt in some degree, and in individual cases, owing to the part I took during the war in England, but Democrats as well as Republicans have been amongst our warmest hosts; in fact, I am fairly puzzled, and allow the tide at last to carry me along, floating down it and enjoying

[13]Thomas Hughes to his wife, August 31, 1870, in Thomas Hughes, *Vacation Rambles* (edited by his daughter, New York, 1895), 133. This work contains the articles Hughes wrote for the *Spectator* under the title of *Vacuus Viator*, as well as extracts from the letters he wrote to his wife. They were collected and published in his lifetime in 1895. The account of his American visit is largely built on these letters.

[14]*Ibid.*, 136.

[15]*Ibid.*, 138-142 (September 2, 1870). Among some of his hosts were Judge E.R. Hoar, who had recently retired from the Cabinet, "a very able fine fellow" according to Hughes, whose two sons rowed Hughes on the Concord River.

everything as well as I can.[16]

He had good cause to relax. A.S. Hewitt met him and drove him to the house of the famous Peter Cooper, whose multifarious activities had made him a rich man. His patronage of the Cooper Institute particularly endeared him to Hughes, since Hughes had helped to found a similar institute in London. The New York one far surpassed its English counterpart, Hughes confessing, "it is certainly the best institution of the kind I have ever seen." Hughes was charmed by the old man (then seventy-nine) and called him "one of the most guileless and sweetest of old men." Cooper was not only Hewitt's partner, but also his father-in-law. These powerful friends secured for Hughes easy access to the Union League, the Manhattan, and the Century clubs, where he dined on successive days. Hughes continued to talk on the need for mutual understanding and found that he was succeeding better than he thought: "The more fanatic Americans they are, the more they seem to like to do for me, and as I spend the greater part of my time showing them how mistaken they must be in their views as to England. . . I feel I am doing good work."[17]

He found a ready listener and a kind host in W. H. Osborne, the president of the Illinois Central Railroad, whose further interests in the Chicago, St Louis and New Orleans Railroad made him a veritable mogul. Osborne was kindness itself to Hughes. He invited him to stay, and later, as he went round on his line to open 150 new miles of traffic, invited Hughes to go round with him in an express train. Hughes wrote: "It is regal travelling. We have two carriages,-one a charming sleeping car in which I have a beautiful little state-room, another carriage for dining, etc., equally commodious, all our stores on board, so that we live splendidly, two negro boys to wait on us."[18] This five days journey took him to Omaha, and the West made a deep impression on him. They stopped at the mushroom towns to chat about the prices of land, and meet the local worthies.[19]

On their way back through Chicago Hughes was able to hear

[16]*Ibid.*, 173. Hughes had played a great part in the emancipation societies which were established in London to help the North in 1862. He was one of the principal speakers at the first big meeting at the Exeter Hall on January 29, 1863. He also claimed to be the first man who urged open arbitration upon the British Government in 1866 over the *Alabama* affair. *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1870.

[17]*Vacation Rambles*, 145, 146.

[18]*Ibid.*, 151 (September 13, 1870).

[19]*Ibid.*, 151-156. Hughes noticed that the first thing the settlers did was to build a famous big school, and he notes that even in Sioux City with its sixty-three gambling saloons, they had three or four fine schools "for which they tax the saloons mercilessly."

Robert Collyer, the former Yorkshire blacksmith who had become a famous Unitarian pastor. Quoting from his rousing sermon, Hughes noted, "In the New Jerusalem, St. John dreamed 'there shall be no more sea'?"[20] The University graduates gave Hughes a testimonial. From now on it was a mad rush round the rest of the states, travelling by night, to St Louis, through Ohio, on to Philadelphia, all on the free passes of his railway friends, though no longer in the private train in which he had made his journey westward to Omaha.

Philadelphia was another round of institutions and entertainments. The Normal School for girls, and the Girard College for boys "are decidedly more luxurious than. . .Rugby in my time," he wrote to his wife.[21] He delivered a rousing speech at a dinner at the Union League Club with General Meade, Field the banker, and MacMichael, the founder of the club, all present. "On the whole I think I made a good deal of impression on most of them," he wrote proudly, having had a prolonged argument with all of them on Britain's attitude. The feeling was cemented when the following day he went to the battlefield of Gettysburg with Rosengarten himself, who had helped to place the troops in position seven years before. Then he went to Washington, where he met one of the Harvard boat crew whom he had previously known in England, and then to New York and back to Boston, where he crowned a most successful visit by a lecture in the Boston Music Hall on the eleventh of October.

This lecture, reported as it was verbatim in the *New York Daily Tribune* and the *Boston Advertiser,* was the climax to his visit. "I was determined to talk out with the whole Yankee nation the controversy which I had been carrying on already with many of them in private."[22] Its theme was that John and Jonathan should live together as brothers, and with a touch of prophetic insight he declared:

> . . .if the strong old islander, who, after all, is your father, should happen some day to want a name on the back of one of his bills, I, for one, should not wonder to hear that at the time of presentation the name Jonathan is found scrawled across there in very decided characters.[23]

That was long range prescience. The "vast elbow room of this wonderful continent, with all its million outlets and opportunities for every human being who is ready to work" was to afford him yet

[20] *Ibid.,* 157 (September 19, 1870).
[21] *Ibid.,* 162 (September 23, 1870).
[22] *Ibid.,* 177 (October 16, 1870).
[23] *Ibid.,* 404. The entire speech is reprinted, 385-405. It was delivered in a "Yankee voice." *New York Daily Tribune,* October 12, 1870.

another outlet for his restless social energies.[24]

This "elbow room" was to be the avenue of escape for the Tom Browns of the next decade. There is a fine irony in the fact that Hughes, whose book had done so much to popularise the idea of the happy, irrsponsible boy, was now faced with the alarming situation that the harsh world of the seventies had no place for Tom Browns.[25] The irony deepens when it is seen that Hughes himself undertook to remedy the situation with the same advice which earlier social reformers had given to the workers - i. e. migration. And what could be more surprising than that the initial move should come from Boston?

The rise of Germany, the consequent slump of 1878-79 in England, and the shrinkage of the British share in the world market lessened the number of outlets for the public schoolmen produced in ever-increasing numbers on the Tom Brown pattern. Tom Hughes was dimly aware of this and declared, "the English distemper is a determination of blood to the head and heart, and the remedy is to carry it to the extremities."[26] Others thought so too. An English railway magnate, Henry Kimber,[27] who was interested in colonisation schemes in Natal and New Zealand, joined Hughes and John Boyle[28] in searching for a similar tract to colonise in

[24] *Vacation Rambles,* 404. A friend once said of Hughes that "he had seven times more irons in the fire, and he heated them one seven times more than anyone else." It is indeed hard to find a social movement in England that was Christian in purpose with which Hughes was not associated. It is significant that he visited Goldwin Smith at Cornell, for Smith had openly adopted the New World as his mete in 1868. See Goldwin Smith, "Some Unpublished Letters," Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, Ontario, 1894–), LIV (1947), 452-460.

[25] As G. M. Young puts it, "the great Victorian omission had to be made good, and the executive class educated up to the level of the demands now making on it in a trained and scientific world." *Victorian England* (Oxford, 1937), 164-65.

[26] The theme of a number of public speeches Hughes made in England during 1880, this from a lecture on December 4 (reported in the *Times* two days later).

[27] Henry Kimber (1834-1923), whom Dr. Hamer calls "Lord Kimber" (p. 397), "Sir Henry Kimber" (p. 405) and also an M.P. He was vice chairman of the Capital and Counties Bank Ltd., chairman of the Colonist Land and Loan Corporation, chairman of the International Financial Society, chairman of the South Indian Railway Company, as well as owning a settlement in Natal where he settled two of his sons. He dispatched many immigrants from his own constituency of Wandsworth, which he represented from 1885-1913, to the Manchester Block settlement in New Zealand, which covered 106,000 acres and returned all the promoters' capital with a surplus. He was an astute man whose activities in Indian railways were historic.

[28] John Boyle, a barrister, was the first cousin to the Earl of Glasgow and had been guardian to the Marquis of Bute. He was supposed to be the original of Mr. Giles in Disraeli's *Lothair,* and was the dead image of Mr. Gladstone to look at. L. H. Dorehill, "Reminiscences," *Rugby Advertiser,* October 26, 1923. Boyle was the first manager of the settlement in Tennessee, being succeeded by Cyrus Clark, a Pennsylvanian, who was in turn succeeded by B. Walton. I have been in correspondence with Sir Henry Kimber, son of Henry Kimber mentioned in note 27, who was created a baronet in 1904, who tells me that the records of the company no longer exist in England. According to Dr. Hamer, these papers and some Hughes letters are in the possession of W. T. Walton, Rugby Tennessee. Dr. Hamer has also edited "The Correspondence of Thomas Hughes Concerning His Tennessee Rugby," in *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXI (1944), 203-214. [Editor.]

America. They worked through one of Hughes' old pupils in New York, John Roebuck, who had been a fellow of the Working Men's College.

They took over a scheme which a Boston group of financiers had started in order to alleviate a similar industrial depression in the eastern states of North America. After four excursions covering 20,000 miles, the financiers had selected the mountain plateau of Tennessee for an industrial settlement. But the American industrial crisis soon passed away, and Boyle, making inquiries for Hughes and Henry Kimber, found the Americans willing to amalgamate in The Board of Aid to Land Ownership, which symbolized its dual origin by having on its seal the crossed flags of both countries. The system under which the board worked was a simple and familiar one. It purchased the land and broke it into lots for resale to intending settlers on a short-hire purchase agreement. Approximately 400,000 acres were surveyed, and by June, 1880, one-eighth of this had been bought. The railway company offered to take settlers at reduced rates on the line which they had completed to within seven miles of the intended settlement only four months earlier.[29]

It was not a "socialistic community in the mountains of Tennessee"[30] though certain social foci around which the new community could cluster were built. A road to the station (costing thirty thousand dollars) was first made, followed by a hotel, a store, and a church. This trinity showed the English influence. The hotel was called the Tabard and incorporated some of the reputed banisters of the original Canterbury Inn in its construction. The store, based on the co-operative system, had an enthusiastic storeman who called his son Rugby. The church had a spire and was served by the Rev. Joseph Blacklock, whose wife and seven children formed a valuable accession to the community.[31]

Hughes opened the settlement with a characteristic speech on October 5, 1880, pointing out that this was "a swarming time of the race, a time of great movements of population, which no human power can check, which may either be left to work themselves out by rule of thumb, or ordered and directed from the first on distinct principles." Eleven days later, J. W. Harper described it as Britain's second period of colonization in America.[32] Hughes opened his heart

[29]The Board of Aid published a prospectus which is in the British Museum Library.
[30]E.g. *Encyclopaedia Americana* (New York, 1936), XIV, 480.
[31]For good eye-witness accounts of the early history of the community see, in addition to Dr. M. B. Hamer and L. H. Dorehill, the following: *Chattanooga Sunday Times*, October 19, 1923; *Vacation Rambles*, 181-260, and *Harper's Weekly*, October 16, 1880.
[32]*Ibid.*

on his feelings towards the colony to but one person other than his wife, and that was the old associate of his Trade Union days, Lord Ripon. Ripon was now Viceroy of India, and Hughes wrote to him regularly. The letters form an index of the fortunes of the colony as they affected Hughes himself.[33]

He wrote on May 20, 1881:

> The Tennessee Colony is going on famously, and I think will be a great boon for hundreds of our boys for whom there are fewer and fewer possible openings at home. I send a pamphlet about it with the exhibition notes which my wife is sending to yours by this mail, and soon hopes to send a small book on the same subject which it may interest you to glance at.[34]

Hughes had returned to England after opening the colony, leaving his brother there. Five days after the above was written, the *Times* reported:

> Mrs. Margaret Hughes, mother of the founder of the English Colony at Rugby, Tennessee, arrived in Philadephia with her family and effects. . .Her arrival has attracted great notice. She was received and cared for by prominent citizens of Philadelphia while the customs official passed her baggage without delay. Rugby is flourishing, having already 300 settlers with frequent arrivals.[35]

Dr. Hamer is wrong in thinking Hughes "a busy member of Parliament."[36] He had not sat since he had retired the day before the poll was taken at Marylebone in February, 1874.[37] His interests were still in his New Jerusalem, and in the new world. Describing to Ripon a reception he attended two months later, he wrote:

> I met Evarts, Lowell, Bideau and the Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. I forget his name but [he is] a bright and very solvent youth who pays very well for articles as I can aver, and other yanks to whom I was introduced passim.
>
> Yes, I was more or less seedy for some time after getting back from the U.S. -giddy and inclined to go like a drunken cove in the streets—but never

[33]The Ripon Papers number many folios in the British Museum. Those cited in this paper are catalogued as Add. MSS. 43531, 43532, and 43533. The friendship between Hughes and Ripon, as between Hughes and Gladstone, was severely strained by the fissure of the Liberal party over Home Rule. Hughes was an anti-Home Ruler, and made his opinion heard with characteristic frankness.

[34]May 20, 1881, *ibid.*

[35]The *Times* (London), May 25, 1881. The *Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement*, III (New York and London, 1901), is wrong when it asserts that Mrs. Hughes remained there for ten years. As a matter of fact, she died on October 5, 1887, and her death was reported in the *Times* three days later.

[36]As she does on pp. 396 and 405 of her article. It implies that Hughes had Parliamentary duties to attend to and hurried home from Rugby.

[37]Frederick Boase, *Modern English Biography* (Truro, Eng., 1912), V, 722. He had sat for Frome from 1868 to 1874, although he had written to Gladstone on November 26, 1868, offering to vacate Frome "for a good Liberal and supporter of Gladstone's." Gladstone Papers (British Museum, Vol. 431).

enough to make any real difference in ones ways. I take it as simply a phase of the disease A.D. and as I am a good deal nearer 60 than 50 it is time I got some kind of warning. I am now much better—in fact well I think—I wish my wife were, but the long winter, only just over, told on her sadly.

I meant to have written long gossipy letter but must close now, as I am sorry to say I have a very troublesome and onerous business on my shoulders in connection with my American settlement which is all going wrong—wish me well through it! Twenty years ago it would have been light but now it is a very heavy and sorrowful burthen.[38]

For an ailing, aging man this "troublesome and onerous business" was a prolonged drought which afflicted the settlement. Two months later he wrote again:

Thanks for your kind words about my settlement. It was a rash undertaking at my age, but as you know. I'm hot-headed more or less, and the thing seized on me mightily—whether it will pull through seems doubtful with this unlucky fever coming on the back of the drought which has destroyed almost all such crops as there were in the first year. My anxiety as to the fever is nearly over as the reports are all good now—but in other ways the place is going through great trials. I have risked in it more than I should have done (but that again is my temper) and have sorely repented it, though my dear brave wife to be like herself, though the whole thing was against her wish, entirely pardoned it.

If it fails, we shall be really poor for some years at any rate, so she, to meet the worst at once, has let the house for six months from Nov. 1st, and we shall spend the winter economising by the sea, most likely at Eastbourne.

Although the troubles of the Rugby experiment must have been a blow, forcing him to leave his charming house in London's West End,[39] he had not lost faith in the needs which had called it forth and concluded: "I am going to give our youngest boy a thorough training as a farmer in view of the future. I hoped he would take orders, but am giving that up."[40]

Some extent of the financial loss in which Hughes was involved and the change which it would make on his own life is revealed in the next letter written two months later:

The cloud into which we were passing has by no means lifted yet, but it is not as dark as it seemed then. The fever has abated in the settlement, and I have lost no one but that is all that can be said.

[38] July 14, 1881, Ripon Papers. The drought was probably responsible for the settlers' complaints (mentioned by Dr. Hamer) that their crops "suffered from a kind of spinal meningitis." Coming so soon after the opening, at the very period when in any case there must have been an emotional reaction after the high-flown optimism of the opening, its psychological effects must have exceeded its material damage.

[39] At 80 Park Street, W.

[40] September 14, 1881, Ripon Papers.

The place has received a blow from which it will take years to recover if it ever does, and in any case the founders must be very heavy losers. My own loss I can't put less than £7,000 which makes me a really poor man again at a time when it is hard to recover. I had no right to risk so much—too true—but I never could count the money cost when my heart was in anything, and as you may think, the bitterest drop in the cup has been to feel what the loss entails on my wife and children—none the less bitter because of the noble way in which they have all borne it—not a word of complaint or repining has come from son or daughter, and even after a long life's experience of her I am astonished (and deeply humiliated) at my dear wife's courage and bright and loving sympathy.

She has left her house, and with it the only life she is used to as though it were a light thing, quite natural, almost a pleasure! to begin life again and start new roots! No one knows what a true wife can be till they get into such deep waters by their own fault.

Why do I tell you all this? My dear friend, I hardly know, except it be from a sort of instinct which turns at such times to those with whose lives one's own has been much bound up, in a vague kind of craving to unburthen ones self to someone. I have not said anything of this to any man, and should not to you, but that I felt that I must write sooner or later, and nothing else would come to my pen's end—and I feel that the effort has been a relief which I know you will be glad should have come to me.

I know well there is some lesson which God means I should learn from this trouble, and which in part I think I have learned. For the rest I wait reverently and I hope patiently for further light. It was you and your wife who came to us in our greatest trouble twenty two years ago, and you will bear with me now if I seem morbid.

He went on to sketch the efforts he would have to make:

As to the future—I have given up of course all idea of getting back into Parliament and have done the last thing I ever thought to do, applied for a place. So you may see me a police magistrate or something equivalent when you come back. Meantime I shall be writing again, chiefly the long abandoned pot-boiler! Fiction, which would be the most profitable, I have long felt an aversion for which I doubt if anything can overcome—besides I am too old for it now. All unpaid work (of which my hands have always been too full perhaps) I give up except Co-operation, which I can't quite leave just now, the time being too critical. Our Union (to which you gave such timely advice) is at the parting of the ways, and no one who wants it to take the right turn can take off his hand—I must remain too at the Working Men's College until they can find a suitable successor. There—I hope I never wrote you a letter so full of myself before, and I certainly never will again.[41]

So to lodgings at Eastbourne the Hughes family went for the winter of 1881. Hughes, ever unwilling to intrude his troubles on even his closest friends, continued to write to Ripon with

[41]November 13, 1881, *ibid.* This long letter has been given almost in full because it is the only record Hughes has left of the impact that the Rugby disaster made on his own personal outlook.

scarcely a hint of his own fortunes. On May 12, 1882, he confessed: ". . . our affairs look rather better, but one has no mind to think of them still less to trouble other people about them, when the country is in such troubled waters."[42]

Ripon, as Viceroy of India, was running into a fierce barrage of criticism over his work, and Hughes loyally devoted his letters to encouraging his friend in the great work in which he was engaged.[43] His old friend Goldwin Smith, now at Toronto, came over to the Co-operative Congress held at Oxford in June. The two nephews in Mexico were doing well. The London house was let to Sir A. Eden. Most important of all, Hughes got "a place," and on July 27, could write and inform Ripon that he had been made a county court judge, declaring: "As I am definitely out of politics, there is no work I would sooner do in which I could be more useful."[44]

So before the next winter came round, Hughes migrated to Chester, the center of his circuit. He resigned the chairmanship of the Co-operative Union and wrote again:

> Politics and all public action connected with them are of course over with me now I have accepted this county court—I never thought that I should have borne the change so tranquilly, but I am really inclined to rejoice in it. Unless a vacancy had occurred at Rochdale or possibly one or two other northern towns where co-operators rule the roost, I should not have had a chance of getting back into the House even if I had seen my way financially and even in the House now, what possible good could I have done, the first duty of a loyal Liberal being to hold his tongue."[45]

The old town and cathedral of Chester, with its Roman Wall and historic associations, proved the opiate he needed. He confessed, "they have a strange charm which is I think added to by the feeling that one has done with active politics."[46] He wrote encouraging letters to Ripon and received glowing accounts of his sons and nephews in Mexico. He told Ripon:

> Our eldest boy has come back since my last [letter] to you. It is a wonderful pleasure to have him and see what a splendid specimen of the Western Man he has grown into, but I fear I shall have great difficulty in installing anything like sound principles as to co-operation into him."[47]

Well he might, for only a month earlier he had sold his "beeves"

[42]May 12, 1882, *ibid.*
[43]For Ripon's work in India see Lucien Wolf, *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon* (London, 1921). His viceroyalty lasted from 1880 to 1884.
[44]July 27, 1882, Ripon Papers.
[45]Ausust 25, 1882, *ibid.*
[46]September 21, 1882, *ibid.*
[47]May 9, 1883, *ibid.*

for £4,000.[48]

When Hughes was in his sixtieth year, the call came to him once more. He decided to spend the month's holiday allowed him in 1883 visiting Rugby, which he thought was "pulling round."[49] He wrote to Ripon the day before he left for America:

Things are going much better in the Rugby settlement. It has been a very anxious question with me whether I ought to go or not, but I think it has been rightly decided, and my wife has come round to this view. I shall be away only a short six weeks—she goes to Dresden for the time to leave Lily, our youngest girl there to get a years German and Music before she is of the coming out age.[50]

A week after he had returned he wrote again:

You will be glad to know that my American run was a great success in all ways.

1. My mother was wonderful, able to do much more in all way than when she started;[51] she has made a really charming place in the backwoods and I spent most of my time sitting on her verandah watching the humming birds visiting a large flower bed just below, and looking beyond over magnificent forest and mountain scenery into the sunset.
2. The place is quite recovering itself and likely to do very well before long, and the settlers are a capital lot now, winnowed by their early trials.
3. I am come back much stronger having utterly refused all invitation to banquets and talks, warned by the lessons of three years ago. I only stayed one night at New York going and returning. I am thankful to say that I found my wife much better than I left.[52]

He was off again the following year full of optimism and wrote on his return:

I had a *wonderful* month in America—got down to Jim's ranch on the Rio Grande[53] and saw crocodiles (from the cars about 50 miles from New Orleans) white cranes, beavers, wolves, and all manner of strange birds and beasts. The only drawback was the long drowth from which they were suffering badly and I fear it may throw him back sadly as many of the weaker cattle will scarcely get through the winter.

But the life brings out all there is in a fellow and I am glad and proud to recognise what fine stuff there was in him to bring out.

The settlement at Rugby too, was in a very hopeful state and will do excellent civilising work in those parts though I don't suppose it will ever bring back the money spent on it.[54]

Hughes was much impressed by the cowboy's life, and wrote one

[48]March 9, 1883, *ibid.*
[49]May 31, 1883, *ibid.*
[50]August 22, 1883, *ibid.*
[51]According to L. H. Dorehill (*Rugby Advertiser, October* 26, 1923), she took horseback exercise up till two years of her death!
[52]October 16, 1883, Ripon Papers (Add. MSS. 43532).
[53]Already referred to previously in the text.
[54]November 4, 1884, *ibid.*

of his *Vacuus Viator* articles for the *Spectator* about one cowboy he met, an "English lad" who, when he had last seen him two years previously "had just left Haileybury, a bit of a dandy, with very tight clothes, and so stiff a white collar on, that on his arrival he had been nicknamed the 'Parson'."[55]

The Indian Summer of his optimism was darkened by the clouds that gathered round the English political scene. A number of new elements in the political situation conspired to vex him. There was

> The heathen idea of external aiding and disciplining of the citizen and raising him by law.
>
> The Trade Unions have gone all wrong—their Union is centred in their Parliamentary Committee which has no other function (nor has their Congress) but to propound and support Acts of Parliament dealing mostly with subjects quite outside their sphere; for the good reason that within it they have long ago got all that they are fairly entitled to—I left them altogether nearly ten years since now, seeing how wrong they were going.[56]

There was the growing movement towards state socialism, which he could not tolerate. But chiefly there was the decision of the Liberal party to adopt Home Rule, a decision which caused Hughes to lose the friendship of both Ripon and Gladstone.[57]

When he travelled again to the States in 1887, it was to be still further "astonished and not a little troubled" that so many of his friends among the northern Republicans, "Men who had gone through and borne the burden of the War of Secession—not, indeed, sympathising with the Irish, whom they dislike and distrust more than we do, but saying: 'Oh you had better let them have their own way.' . . ."[58] So it is not surprising that he should have been a little less enthusiastic about his beloved West and have written:

> I really want to say something about this "Westward Ho!" gadfly, which seems to have bitten young England with a vengeance in these last months. I

[55]*Vacation Rambles*, 233-238. Haileybury, one of England's premier schools, was formerly known as the East India College. (Britain's present Prime Minister, Mr. Atlee, was a schoolboy there.) Hughes drew a picture of the "Parson" as he appeared as a cowboy with his "shin tanned a deep red, relieved by large dark brown freckles, from the midst of which his great blue eyes shone out in comical contrast. I fear-

> The very mother that him bare,
> She had not known her child."

The "cult of the West" must have received a powerful impetus by such journalism as this.

[56]May 19, 1885, Ripon Papers (Add. MSS. 43533).

[57]The Home Rule crisis evoked "the most dramatic thirteen months in modern English party history." R.C.K. Ensor, *England* 1870-1914 (Oxford, 1941), 99. The social schisms in clubland were almost fantastic, members being blackballed for having Home Rule sympathies. Hughes' split with Ripon and Gladstone was due to the former's acceptance of the latter's policy. See British Museum, Add. MSS. 44500, f. 150 and 44783, f. 140.

[58]Letter from Cincinnati dated September 24, 1886, in *Vacation Rambles*, 247.

am startled, not to say alarmed, at the number of letters I get from parents and guardians...of youngsters eagerly bent on cattle ranches, horse ranches, orange groves in Florida, vineyards, peach and strawberry-raising, and I know not what other golden dreams of wealth quickly acquired in the open air, generally with plenty of wild sport thrown in.

He warned them that life was to be found in "really hard manual labour and rough board and lodging," and that "they had better look the thing round twice or thrice before starting. In any case, no young man ought to take more ready money with him than will just keep him from starving for about a month. If he cannot make his hands keep him by that time, he has no business, and will do no good in the West."[59] It is hard not to read into this the experience of the Rugby settlement in Tennessee, and hear the tones of a man who has learnt the lesson that optimism and good fellowship are not all.

In 1887 Hughes was wiser through experience. The plans of Rufus Cooke, the Boston landscape artist, remained unfulfilled, for the last four years had seen sales drop to thirty-two, one quarter as much as in the first two years. Indeed Dorehill refers to a "stampede" away from the colony, and mentions that some of the original settlers preferred more lucrative posts in industry.[60] Moreover, the Tabard Inn, which was thought of in 1884 as the possible site for some sort of college, was burnt down on October 12, 1886. Almost exactly a year later, Hughes' mother died.

So it is not surprising that he did not take Tennessee as seriously as he had done previously, though he frequently confessed that it was the most hopeful of the New Jerusalems which had attracted him. Had he been a young man he might have made a success of it, but he undertook it when, as his friend Ludlow said, it was beyond his powers. So the last nine years of his life were spent in another Western Circuit, in the calm and tranquil atmosphere of the county courtroom, while the Board of Aid was quietly transformed, four years before his death, into the Tennessee Company Ltd. But though Hughes failed in actual achievement, he should be accorded his rightful place in history as one whose perceptive insight was both profound and prophetic, an honest man whose virtue was his biggest handicap.[61]

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[59]Letter dated April 2, 1887, *ibid.*, 248-252.

[60]E.g. Arthur Dyer, who went to work for Edison, invented micanite insulation, and introduced it into England.

[61]The article by J. M. Ludlow, "Thomas Hughes and Septimus Hansard," in the *Economic Review* of July, 1896, is a good personal assessment by one who knew him intimately and had lived with him. Ludlow maintains that Hughes was often deceived by others.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited by

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(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications, Nos.* 9-20)

XIII - August - December, 1789

MCGILLIVRAY TO MIRÓ, LITTLE TALASSIE, AUGUST 10, 1789

Little Tallassie 10 August 1789

Sir

In my last letter to Your Excellency I gave you some account of our Occurrences & that I had declined the Invitation of the Commissioners to meet them in Treaty on the 20 June last. Something more than Ten days ago I received an express from them in which they agreed to my desire to postpone the Treaty to a more convenient time for ourselves, & then proposed the 15 Sept. for the time of meeting, to which proposition I have consented being always willing to manifest a disposition to put an end to a bloody contest, when we can do it with safety to ourselves & I shall deem myself happy if I can bring Them to Conclude a peace on Terms that will move every cause for future quarrel to a great distance & ensure to my Nation the quiet enjoyment of our Rights.

It is well & generally known that the war in which we have so long been engaged in with the Americans was of their own Seeking. Intoxicated with the high Ideas of National Consequence from having unexpectedly gained the establishment of their Independency, They Vainly Imagined themselves what they affected to Stile themselves, Conquerors of the old & Masters of the New World. In this dream of greatness & Power they fondly thought that they coud sieze with Impunity every foot of Territory belonging to the Red Nations of america & that it woud be easy to exterminate them if Necessary to the accomplishment of such Iniquituous Views.

That we have in part if not wholly defeated the wicked Intentions of the americans is Known to every people & that we have brought these haughty republicans to bend & Sue for peace from the people whom they had despised & marked out for destruction.

at same time I acknowledge with the warmest Sentiments of Gratitude

*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications, No.* 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A.G.I., P.C., 202. An incomplete form of this letter, pieced out from a fragment in English and part of a Spanish translation, is printed in J.W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 244-45.

that we accomplish this chiefly with the Generous aid & Support which we received from our great Protector the King of Spain, whose interests has likewise been benefitted by our rescuing from the americans an extensive Scope of Territory which they were adding to their Southern State of Georgia toward East Florida.

it is probably that in Treaty we may Settle the dispute relating to Limits as they have already relinquished one half of their encroachments but they will Strive hard to regain our Trade, being fully sensible of its importance to gain & attach Indian Nations. a peace concluded with them without Stipulations for Trade is grounded on a flimsy foundation, and in the event of our differing in either or both in what regards Limits & Trade which I Shall not hesitate to do if necessary, I shall reckon upon Your Excellencys most effectual & decided Support in prosecuting the war & never let us again be exposed to the Risk as we were last Year when in the moment for Vigorous exertion we were Refused further aid & Support & was told [to] make peace & let me again Remind Your Excellency that if we are obliged into unconditional terms of Peace with the americans that they will take every advantage of our Situation.[2]

I hope that Your Excellency is now Satisfied of the peaceable Intention of these people toward the Tombigbe, finding that the Choctaws had deceived them with false reports of the americans being in great numbers on that River. I most Solemnly assure you that these people have never killed one beast in that Settlement, but they had carryd off a few horses & mares. Some of which have been Returned & other yet in the woods packd for hunting.[3]

The Choctaws have Committed various & frequent depredations on that River & even about Mobile this Summer which outrages their partisans & Interrested people conceal from Your knowledge & falsly charge this people with. tis not long ago that Cap. Folk sent a Talk to the Choctaws threatening them to Stop their Supplys if they did not render Satisfaction for the damages which they have done.

I hope that Your Excellency is likewise Satisfied that no one in this Country ever entertained the least Idea of molesting the Settlers of Ance a la Graisse.[4] The reasons given for encouraging that Settlement is founded in principles of good Policy & I wish that it was in my power to Cause every american at Cumberland & the Ohio to Seek for Shelter on that side of the River. they then being out of our way our hunters & warriors woud never cross that great river to seek them.

I beg leave to close this letter with Recommending the enclosed Petition from my relation James McGillivray to Your Excellencys consideration. he & myself are blood relations to the late unfortunate James McIntosh who died at Mobile in the Situation as Set forth in the Petition of which an undue advantage was taken by the late Daniel Ward. the various & perplexing affairs of my Nation had so long engrossed my mind I had no other time to

[2]For Panton's advice to McGillivray about the proposed treaty see Panton to McGillivray, June 7, 1789, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1937), 375-77. See also McGillivray to Panton, May 20, 1789, *ibid.*, No. 3 (September, 1937), 283-88.

[3]Miró had sent his complaint through Panton. See Panton to McGillivray, June 6, 1789, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1937), 373-74.

[4]Colonel George Morgan's settlement at New Madrid.

think of any thing else together with the absence of James McG. Wards death having left that effects & property we Suppose in a rather Critical Situation & it being considerable Induced us to apply to Your Excellency for it & I have no doubt on account of the proofs of friendship which Your Excellency has afore frequently Shewn me, but that You will extend it to us in this Instance as it is but Just & Reasonable, that we the Relations of the deceased McIntosh shoud enjoy the Estate than that persons entire Strangers to the Family shoud reap the benefit of it. I understand that Mr. Joyce at Mobile has the property at present in his management. If Your Excellency gives as I expect a favorable answer to the petition Jas. McG. will be here again early in December next to proceed as the occasion may require. . . .

---- Alex.McGillivray

his Excellency Stephen Miro
Governor & Commander in chief of Louisiana & West Florida.

MCGILLIVRAY TO PANTON, LITTLE TALASSIE, AUGUST 12, 1789[5]

Little Tallassie 12 August, 1789

Dear Sir—

Late in the evening I received your Agreeable favor of 29th ulto. from Ni's White given him by Cornell[6]—had it not been for his Idle Curiosity going to See a ball play, Where he in Excuse said he expected to find me I should have got it in time to have wrote you by the Messenger I Sent off yesterday Morning to you—

The Governors Talk has Set every thing to rights, the relinquishment of the dutys enables you to furnish our Trade as Cheap as the Georgians which puts a deadly End to all their proposals & hopes of being able to regain this Nation to their Interests by that handle and in point of Situation there's no Comparison and the Villainy of the Horse thieves of Georgia, deter Traders from going to that quarter—

I am not a little Surprised at the Omission of St. Marks in the Royal lycence, it Must have been an Oversight of our friends for that is an Indispensible Stand. This may be Satisfactorily Explained to you by the Mico— No doubt the Royal Intention is Meant full & Compleat for the Whole, tho' I think Another Season you Ought to have Houses at Oquelockene[7] which is Only two leagues from the Fort but is the Most eligible Situation, & where you need not be pestered with being obliged to do business with Canoes & is equally Central & Convenient — The least writing Knocks me up — God Bless you—

signd Alexr. McGillivray —

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[5]A.G.I., P.C., 203.

[6]Nicholas White was a trader in the Creek Nation. Joseph Corness, father of one of McGillivray's wives, acted as interpreter at the signing of the Treaty of New York (1790). Caughey, *McGillivray,* 103, 109, 249, 357, 363.

[7]The Ochlockonee River, which empties into the Gulf between the St. Marks and the Apalachicola.

[8]McGillivray suffered from blinding headaches.

[9]A.G.I., P.C., 203. On the same day McGillivray wrote in a similar strain to Miró. Caughey, *McGillivray,* 249-50.

MCGILLIVRAY TO PANTON, LITTLE TALASSIE, AUGUST 15, 1789

Little Tallassie 15th August 1789—

Dear Sir

Your letter was yesterday delivered to me by Taylor with Governor Miros dispatches,[10] he came this time as he did last, Just as I was leaving home on my way to the Rock Landing however, Never Came Anything More Critically than these letters did, as they Contained Matters of Utmost importance toward my regulation in opening the pending Treaty, had I unfortunately gone on to Treat without Certain hopes of Support how embarrassing and difficult must my Situation have been, I dread to think of What might have been the event resulting from Such a Situation, but by the timely Arrival of these Letters Now my dear Sir I can assume a Tone of Firmness and decission in my Negotiations with the Commissioners[11]— our Trade on a liberal footing & a Certainty of Support from our Royal Protector, What more can we Want? Yet there is one thing More, that is that our friends would place that Confidence in our Attachment Which we Merit & not let the Insinuations of wretches, Secret enemies to us & Spain Operate in their Minds to our disadvantage & their Uneasiness,—for theres Scarce a person in our Neighboring Nations & Settlements but Would rejoice to See us at Variance, to effect Which they Stuck at no baseness or Villainy, they would then use the advantage given on both to Answer Ends favorable to the Object of their heart, the American cause—

I am going to the Treaty however doubtfull I am of the probable Issue of it, I have a presage that we Shall not Now Accomodate our differences in the Way I wish it—The Georgians will be full of the power of the New Constitution &c. &c. & will of Course put on an Assumed Appearance of Boldness & May Insist on Stipulations Which we Cannot with either Safety or honor agree to —however I will be Strongly attended by my Warriors—they Shall hear Me Speak the right Talk, & if we break up without Coming to terms they know the Certain Consequence, & this Circumstance will go a deal toward Softening them—and if we Conclude a peace theres danger of our Becoming too great friends, the King had better Spend a few thousands a year to keep up an eternal bar to them in this quarter — Things Must not be Conducted as they have been — An Establishment Similar to What the English had Must of Necessity be Arranged & fixt, of this I've thrown out an Idea to My friend Governor Miro or we Shall have American Agents Among us—

How Soon I return,[12] fight or agree, you May Expect a Visit from Me Sometime early in October I think the Governor was saying Something of a New Tariff on Trade, I will assist you at it when I come down—This day I devoted to writing Letters & I had three or four Letters to write to the

[10]The reference is to Miró to McGillivray, July 22, 1789, printed in Caughey, *McGillivray*, 243. McGillivray replied on August 15, 1789.

[11]McGillivray expected to treat with Henry Osborne of Georgia, John Steele of North Carolina, and Andrew Pickens of South Carolina. When the meeting was held in September, however, it was with a new set of commissioners appointed by President Washington. They were: Benjamin Lincoln, David Humphreys, and Cyrus Griffin.

[12]McGillivray met the commissioners at Rock Landing, September 20-27. No agreement was reached because the latter insisted on territorial claims put forth by Georgia. See Caughey, *McGillivray*, 243-56.

Cherokees besides my dispatches which has drawn on the pain Over My Eyes According as Usual When I write a little—. . . .

Yours Most Affectonately
(sign'd) Alexr. McGillivray

William Panton Esqr.
Pensacola—

ROBERTSON TO MIRÓ, NASHVILLE, SEPTEMBER 2, 1789[13]

Nashville September 2.nd 1789

Sir,

I must beg your Excellency's permission to take this early oppertunity of thanking you for the honor you did me in writing by Mr. White.

I Still hope that your Government, and these Settlements, are destined to be Mutually friendly and usefull, the people here are impressed with the necessity of it.

We have Just held a Convention;[14] which has agreed that our members Shall insist on being Separted from North Carolina.—

Unprotected, we are to be Obedient to the New Congress of the united States: but we Cannot but wish for a more interesting Connection.—

The united States afford us no protection. The district of Miro is daily plundered and its inhabitants murdered by the Creeks, and Cherokees, unprovoked. Your removing the latter Savages would bind us, ever to remain a gratefull people.—

For my own part, I Conceive highly of the advantages of your immediate Government.

But my estate, here, is Such that I Could not flatter myself to equal it by removing to any part; our lands Satisfying our utmost wishes, and being infinitely before anything I have Seen elsewhere.—

I thank you for the diminution of the duties in my favor.—. . .

James Robertson

A PROCLAMATION, NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1789[15]

Whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit the subjects and citizens of other countries to emigrate to his provinces of Louisiana, and West Florida, by the Mississippi river, with their stock, slaves, farming utensils, and household furniture, as also to introduce their property in the actual produce of the country from whence they come, promising to each family a tract of land from 240 to 800 acres in proportion to their numbers, free from all expence as also exemption from taxation, and the private exercise of their religion; now in order to fulfil these the benevolent intentions of my royal master, and to guard against fraud or imposition, I have thought proper to issue this my proclamation, making known to all persons who may become the subjects of his majesty, that they will be duly protected in the rights and privileges of before mentioned; but all and every person so emigrating after taking the test of allegiance, will be obliged to render on oath a true account or invoice of the property they may bring down to the Governor of the

[13]A.G.I, P.C., 2370. Since this installment was prepared for publication this letter was printed in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 1765-1794, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1945, III, Pt. II (Washington, 1946 [1949], 279-80.

[14]No other mention of this meeting has been found.

[15]Kentucky *Gazette*, December 26, 1789.

District of Natchez or the Commandant of Lance a la Graise, as the case may be, and solemnly to swear that no person or persons are directly or indirectly interested or concerned in the same, it being the intention of his Majesty to extend his Royal bounty to actual settlers only; and any attempt to contravene this design will be punished with the utmost rigor.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, in the City of New Orleans the 2nd. day of September, 1789.

Estevan Miro ----

PROCLAMATION SETTING FORTH THE PRIVILEGES AND BENEFITS GRANTED BY THE KING TO IMMIGRANTS TO THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 6, 1789[16]

His Majesty havng been graciously pleased to encourage emigration to his Province of Louisiana, He has in his Royal bounty determined to Confer upon the Emigrants the following Rights, privileges and immunities.

To all Familes consisting of two or three labouring Persons he will grant two hundred and forty acres (french measure) of land gratis: to such as consist of four labouring persons and upward as far as ten, four hundred acres shall be given, when from ten to fifteen six hundred, and when from fifteen upwards, Eight hundred acres shall be given.

No Person shall be molested in religious Matters though no public Worship shall be allowed but that of the Roman Catholic Church. From the moment of their arrival in this Province all persons shall be treated, and enjoy the same Commercial Privileges & Protection as the ancient Inhabitants and shall be governed by the same laws and Customs, For which purpose his Majesty will establish a Commanding Officer to protect the Settlement against all insults. This Officer will decide the Controversies which may arise among the Inhabitants, and all diffrences in matters of Interest not exceeding the value of one hundred dollars: From this sum upwards the said Commander will hear the allegations of the Parties, direct the proceedings, and transmit the same to New Orleans for the decission of this Government, unless the parties shall agree to submit their matter in Controversy betwixt them, to Arbitrate, in which case each party shall choose one, or two arbitrators and if they should not agree the Commander shall name another to decide the matter.

Every Person emigrating into his Majesty's Province of Louisiana can bring his own Property with him in the produce of the Country he comes from, Such as Peltries, Tobacco, Flax, Hemp, Cordage, Flour, Horns, Sheep, Swine, Cattle, Salt and all sorts of provisions, free from duties with Liberty to sell them to any part of the Province, or send the same for their own account to the out Ports permitted for Commerce to the rest of the Inhabitants, but in this latter Case they are to pay the Duties established for exportation, which is six pCent.

At their arrival every head of a Family answering for every Indvidual of it, shall take the oath of Allegiance to his most catholic Majesty, binding themselves to take up arms (only in defense of thie Province) against any Enemy whatsoever that shall attack it.

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[16]Archivo Nacional de Cuba (Havana), Floridas, legajo 2, No. 10. This proclamation amplifies the statements made in a similar one signed by Miró on September 2, 1789. Wilkinson probably took with him copies of both when he left New Orleans for Kentucky via Cumberland about September 18, but it was the shorter proclamation of September 2 that he gave out for publication on reaching Kentucky. See the Kentucky *Gazette*, December 26, 1789.

It is his Majestys Intention to establish within proper distances Parish Churches; to be served by Priests that may speak the English language but who shall have no right to interfere in religious Matters with those who may not be Catholics; nor shall any pay Tyths or other pay be exacted from them

All subjects of his Majesty shall have a free Market at New Orleans for the produce of their Lands or labour, and shall be exempt from all Duties and taxes.

It is his Majestys Orders that his Laws shall be administered with mildness and Levity so as to render his Subjects as happy as possible. For this purpose, Officers who are well qualified, are appointed to govern the different Settlements.

Given under my hand at New Orleans this Sixth day of September 1789.

MIRÓ TO SMITH, NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 15, 1789 [DRAFT][17]

To Genl. Smith having answered your Letter & [illegible] of the 11 March[18] by Doct: White, for of [torn] any Accident to that Gentleman, I think proper to drop you a few lines by my Friend General Wilkinson.
New orls. 15th Sept 1789

With every disposition to oblige you Sir & to relieve Mr. Fago, it is not in my power to with a shadow of propriety to repair his loss on the Tennessee; nor do I know where he is to look for indemnity, as his Factor was killed, unless it is to those who took the goods[19] – however he has my Permission to carry on a commerce between this Province & your district, on paying the duty of 15 p. Ct. on whatever produce he may bring down, agreeable to the ordinances of his Majesty, and the same Liberty will be given to any Person you may recommend to me, but your own property will be received at 6 p Ct. duty –

You do my royal Master but justice in the Idea you form of his humanity, for be assured Sir he is ardently desirous to promote, to cultivate, & maintain peace & a good understanding amongst Mankind, and more particularly to protect those with whom he is desirous of forming an amicable connexion; and for this purpose rest assured that I have uniformly exerted, & shall continue to exert my influence with every chief of the Indian Nations with whom I hold Entercourse:

I have the pleasure to inform you that at my request Mr. McGilvery is now gone to meet with the Georgians & is determined to make a general peace if possible –

His enclosed manuscript will inform you that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit Emigration to his province of Louisiana, on terms highly favourable to the Emigrant;[20] at the Same time to Manifest his good disposition to the Inhabitants of the Ohio Country, he has opened his Port of New Orleans for the reception of your Produce, subject to a duty of 15 p. Ct. on the value here – Should you pursue the Measures mentioned to me by Mr. Fago, I have no doubt this duty will be removed & you will enjoy

[17]A.G.I., P.C., 2373.
[18]Printed in installment XI, *Publications,* No. 19 (1947), 97.
[19]See *ibid.*
[20]See Miró's proclamation of September 6, 1789, printed above.

every advantage common to the Inhabitants of Louisiana – I refer you to Genl. W: for many particulars Interesting to you, & am Sir &C. –

MIRÓ TO ROBERTSON, NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 16, 1789
[DRAFT][21]

I wrote you by Doctr. White on the 20th April last[22] & for fear that Letter may have miscarried.

Sir. I embrace this opportunity by Genl. Wilkinson, again to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 29th. January, with the poscript of the 18th February.[23]

It is true we have had various reports of the hostile dispositions of the People of your Country & of Kentucky, but they have come thro such channels, as not to merit the least confidence–equally fallacious Sir are the reports of my exciting the Savages to make war on you, for I miss no occasion to exhort & to enjoin the Chiefs with whom I have Intercourse, to make Peace & humanity, public Faith, & a disposition to cultivate a good Understanding with you, all prescribe this Conduct to me and I am happy to assure you that Mr. McGilvery, at our request is now gone to the Oconee, determined to make a general peace.– You observe that nature seems to have designed the Whole Western Country to be one People, I admire the sagacity of your remark, because nothing can be more just or more true, and I look forward to that day, when the whole Country West of the Appalachians, will be peopled, & the different Nations possessing the Soil connected in the strongest Bonds of Alliance, offensive & defensive; my gracious Sovereign to manifest his Hope of this important Subject, has opened his province of Louisiana to Emigration [immigration], on terms favourable to the Settlers, & I shall be happy to take by the Hand, every honest, Upright Man, who may Wish to become a Subject.–at the Same time to Manifest the amity of his disposition to Your People, he has graciously condescended to open his port of New Orleans, for the reception of your produce under a duty of 15 p-Ct. what more can you expect in your present situation, subject as you are to a distant power, & without Authority to treat or to Act for Yourselves? the Faith of nations & the treaty subsisting with the United States, puts it out of his Majesty's power to interfere in your behalf, I am persuaded, He will never cede his exclusive right to the Navigation of the Mississippi, Nay I am of opinion he will defend this right at the hazard of his Crown, until he can receive an equivalent for the concession, and the Western Settlers of America, to whom it is alone Interesting, have nothing to offer or to give in their present situation.–

inclosed are the conditions on which Emigrants are admitted,[24] & I hope they will prove as satisfactory to the good People of your Country as they are liberal & well intended –

I refer you to General Wilkinson for a variety of information which have been the Subjects of our Conversations, & shall be happy to hear from you by every convenient opportunity, in the meantime. . . .

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[21]A.G.I., P.C., 2373.

[22]Printed in "Robertson Correspondence," *American Historical Magazine*, I (Nashville, 1896). See also *Publications*, No. 20 (1948), 109n.

[23]This letter and postscript are printed, but separately, in installment XI, *Publications*, No. 9, pp. 81, 85-86.

[24]Cf. Miró's proclamation of September 6, 1789, printed above.

Na. Os. Sepr. 16th 1789

For Col. Robertson

SMITH TO MIRÓ, MIRO DISTRICT, SEPTEMBER 19, 1789[25]

Sir,

On conversing with Dor. White, I am led to believe that Mr. Fagot hath misrepresented to your Excellency the disposition of the Citizens of this District. His residing, when in the district at one Spot only, without travelling through it, and withal not Speaking our language perfectly, may be a reason why he has taken up a wrong Conception of the people's Sentiments— And indeed his conversing on that Subject to you was more than I expected. The people here wish to be in the Closest friendship tho' not Subject to his Catholic Majesty—

Mr. Winchester[26] who will deliver you this, carries down with him my Small Crop of Tobacco — I believe the quality to be good, and hope if the market answers my expectations to make and Send down about double the quantity next year. The quantity this year I Suppose will be about Six hogsheads, tho' don't know exactly because 'tis not prized yet.

You will please to accept my thanks for your letter of April last — and also receive my apology for writing at this time, because I am about to depart on a long Journey to the Eastward, and Could not write by Mr. Winchester unless at the present time. . . .

Dan Smith

Miro District Sept. 19th 1789

His Excellency Governor Miro

WILKINSON TO GAYOSO, NASHVILLE, NOVEMBER 10, 1789[27]

Miro District Nashville on Cumberland, Nov. 10th 1789

My Dear Friend

I arrived at this place Yesterday in safety, after as agreable a Tour as the distance of My Route would Permit — good Weather, good Health & good Roads, until I approached the Tennessee River all favored me—at this place I am Made happy by assurances of the welfare of my Family, & I am now on the Wing to embrace them—I am informed a Boat will sail from this place in a few days. I embrace the chance to give you this assurance of my welfare because I am Vain enough to believe you are Interested in my happiness— I must suppress Political information by this conveyance — I find the Convention of Kentucky have adopted my Policy.—*it is said* Gardoqui did not take leave of Congress, but informed the President, that all future Negotiations respecting the Mississippi must be conducted at Madrid & that it was probable no Spanish Minister Would in future reside near Congress. — I know nothing of the Authority of this report — I understand the People of this Country & Kentucky are carrying to your Market a great quantity of Provisions & other Articles, among the rest several Cargoes of [lime?] now are building, do not be in haste to purchase & you will get it for ½ a Dollar a Bushell I apprehend — I expect you will without Ceremony lay your com-

[25]Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 14, No. 139.

[26]James Winchester, who later served as a brigadier-general on the Canadian frontier during the War of 1812 and later under Andrew Jackson in the Southwest. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), XX, 378-79.

[27]A.G.I., P.C., 2373. Wilkinson had just delivered Miró's letters of September 15 and 16 to Smith and Robertson.

mands on me for whatever you may Want from this Quarter, & you may rest assured they will be executed with pleasure & alacrity — Adieu my dear Friend May the almighty keep you in his Protection & may you be happy is the Ardent wish of Your Friend & obliged Servant

James Wilkinson

N. B. please forward the
inclosed & give my
Compliments to M. Vidal[28]
His Excy
Governor Gayoso

[28]Nicholás Mariá Vidal, judge in New Orleans and later acting civil governor.

TWO PETITIONS TO VIRGINIA OF THE NORTH OF HOLSTON MEN, 1776, 1777

Edited by Prentiss Price

Introduction*

The significance of these petitions is that they illustrate the exercise of jurisdiction by Virginia as a colony and as a state over a considerable portion of what is now upper East Tennessee from the beginning of settlement until 1779. This area includes large portions of Sullivan and Hawkins counties, practically all of Hancock County, and a small slice of Claiborne. The fact that the early court records of Sullivan and Hawkins counties were destroyed during the Civil War and that the earliest federal census for these counties which has been preserved is that of 1830 give added importance to the listing of names of the signers of these petitions.

The exercise of jurisdiction by Virginia was due primarily to the fact that the progress of settlement preceded the official marking of the boundary line (the 36°30' parallel) between Virginia and North Carolina. In 1749 a joint commission for the survey of the boundary stopped at "Holstein [Holston] river directly opposite to a place called the Steep Rock," near the present northeast corner of the state of Tennessee, in the present Johnson County. Although the survey was continued westward experimentally as far as Beaver Creek by Col. Anthony Bledsoe early in 1771, the line was not officially marked until 1779.[2] In the meantime the course of the westward-flowing south fork of the Holston River was considered as the temporary dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia.

As a result of the activities of the Loyal Land Company of Virginia about 1750, Virginia grants were issued for land in the upper Holston Valley, at least three of which were for land in what is now Tennessee. Two of them, to John Buchanan and Edmund Pendleton, respectively, were to the sites of the present cities of Bristol and Kingsport, Tennessee.[3] When, after the interruption of the French and Indian War and the British Proclamation of 1763, settlers began to move in to occupy these grants and others joined them in the same neighborhoods, since they came largely from

*Condensed, because of space requirements, from a more detailed account written by Mr. Price. [Editor.]

[1]J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 49; S. C. Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 120. Williams says "Steep Rock Creek."

[2]*Ibid.*, 362; S. C. Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Nashville, 1944), 117-22.

Virginia, they naturally looked to that colony for government.

With regard to the so-called "North of the Holston" settlement at Sapling Grove (Bristol) the settlers also had the benefit of a favorable Indian treaty. At the Treaty of Lochaber of 1770, negotiated by the British superintendent, John Stuart, the Cherokee Indians had agreed to a modification of their existing boundary. Beginning at the intersection of the Treaty of Hard Labor line of 1768 with the North Carolina-Virginia boundary, the new line was to run westward to the Holston River at a point six miles east of the Long Island (site of Kingsport), and thence northward to the Ohio River at the mouth of the Kanawha. When this line was surveyed in 1771 by John Donelson and Alexander Cameron, the Indians agreed that the first part of it, after striking the south fork of the Holston, should be considered as following the course of that river until the true line between North Carolina and Virginia should be officially marked.[4] Therefore, while the settlers who had located south of Holston along the Watauga and Nolichucky rivers were forced to govern themselves under the famous Watauga Compact and lease their holdings from the Indians, those north of the Holston were considered at least temporarily to be within the bounds of Virginia and were also on land legally ceded by the Indians.

The Tennessee pioneers who settled in the vicinity of the Long Island and on down Carter's Valley[5] west of the Holston, however,

[3]Sullivan County Deed Book (Sullivan County courthouse, Blountville), No. 2, pp. 522, 525. The Buchanan grant, dated June 20, 1753, was for 1,250 acres, and that of Pendleton, August 16, 1756, for 3,000 acres. On the latter date there was another grant to John Shelton of 940 acres. Fort Robinson was built at Long Island of the Holston in 1761.

[4]Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest* (New York, 1920), 192 and adjoining map.

[5]Named after John Carter, who with his partner, William Parker, opened a store in 1770 about one mile west of the present Church Hill in Hawkins County to trade with any whites and Indians who might be passing by. Carter moved to the Watauga in 1772 leaving Parker in charge. That Parker's first name was William instead of Joseph, as sometines given (e. g. Williams, *Dawn*, 348), is indicated by the inclusion of that name on the Washington County (Tennessee) tax list of 1779 (original in courthouse at Jonesboro; microfilm in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), where he is credited with the ownership of land on "Big Creek" and near the the north fork of the Holston in Entry No. 944, originally recorded in Carter's office at Jonesboro on January 2, 1779. The site of Carter's store and "Parker's Improvements" is now owned by descendants of James Cooper, who acquired possession under North Carolina Grant No. 379, dated August 9, 1787. The originals of the Carter entries and North Carolina grants are in the Land Office, Raleigh, N. C. Copies are in the Tennessee Land Office, Nashville.

were on Indian land, but they likewise considered themselves under the jurisdiction of Virginia. Although apparently not molested by the Cherokees, on whose lands they were located, they suffered severely from Shawnee raids during Dunmore's War of 1774.[6] Richard Henderson and his Transylvania Company acquired a private title to the Long Island region and Carter's Valley by the separate "Path Deed" signed by the Cherokee Indians immediately after the main Transylvania Purchase in 1775; and Henderson turned over his title to all of Carter's Valley to John Carter and his new partner, Robert Lucas. Early in the next year, May 21, 1776, the settlers in the Valley protested to the Virginia legislature against this pretended purchase and the seizure of their lands and improvements by Carter and Lucas.[7]

Some time after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the settlers west of the Donelson line of 1771 organized the "Pendleton District" and petitioned the Revolutionary government of Virginia for formal annexation so as to enable them to "contribute their Mite to Support the glorious Cause." This petition, which was signed by John Coulter as chairman, was favorably considered by a committee of Fincastle County, Virginia, on February 23, 1776.[8] Although the petitioners were now formally recognized as residents of Fincastle County, there still existed a serious limitation upon Virginia jurisdiction because, as they had admitted in their petition, necessity had forced them, "in order to provide an honest and comfortable Subsistance [*sic*] for themselves & Families, to settle Land without the Limits hitherto Purchased by Government from the Indians." After the close of the Cherokee War of 1776, this difficulty was removed on July 20, 1777, when Col. William Christian and his fellow commissioners representing the state of Virginia

[6]Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), 305 *et passim;* S. C. Williams, "Shelby's Fort," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 7 (1935), 32.

[7]Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1853), Fourth series, VI, 1533. The petition was presented on May 21, 1776, but was drafted much earlier.

[8]Facsimiles of the petition and of the Fincastle County action are in Williams, *Revolutionary War,* between pages 16 and 17. The Pendleton District was analogous to the Washington District created by the Wataugans at about the same time, or a little later. As a matter of fact, Fincastle County and its predecessor, Botetourt, had already had some relations with future Tennesseans. Road orders in the records of the latter, in 1770 and 1771, refer to Ready (Reedy) and Muddy creeks, both of which are in Sullivan County, Tennessee; and when Fincastle County was created, its first county court appointed Moses Looney as surveyor of the road from "Muddy Creek to the county line." L. P. Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia* (Abingdon, 1929), 48-147, 594.

signed the Treaty of Long Island with the Cherokee Indians extending the Donelson line. The extension began at the "lower corner" of the line on the south fork of the Holston six miles east of the Long Island, and followed that fork and the Holston itself to the mouth of Cloud's Creek, about thirty-five miles below the Long Island, and then ran in a "straight line to a high point on the Cumberland Mountain beween there and five miles below or westward" of Cumberland Gap. As surveyed by William Campbell the line from the mouth of Cloud's Creek ran north 75 degrees west to the High Knob of the Cumberland Mountain six miles west of Cumberland Gap.[9]

It seems strange that the North Carolina commissioners, who negotiated a treaty of their own at the same time, should have allowed the Indians to have ceded to Virginia so much land which, they must have known from Bledsoe's expermental survey of 1771, actually lay within North Carolina's charter bounds. Virginia continued until 1779 to exercise jurisdiction over both areas of the future Tennessee (north of the south fork of the Holston, the Donelson line of 1771; and above the extension of that line negotiated by Christian in 1777). In 1779, beginning on September 1, commissioners of the two states surveyed the 36°30' parallel from the Steep Rock terminus of the line of 1749 on across the Cumberland Mountains, and North Carolina thereby recovered jurisdiction over its lost territory. For the government of this re-acquired territory North Carolina created in November of the same year the new county of Sullivan, which also included a portion of the previously-established Washington County.[10] Some confusion in regard to payment of taxes[11] occurred in connection with this transfer of sovereignty, but

[9]Williams, *Revolutionary War*, 69; Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), 384; C. E. Carter (ed.) *Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 83. The location of the Campbell line is shown in the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1883), plate viii. For a discussion of the treaty see John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee* (2nd ed., Nashville, 1891), 504-14. The consideration offered by Christian included 200 head of breeding cows and 100 sheep.

[10]Williams, *Revolutionary War*, 117-27. Hawkins County was later created out of portions of Sullivan and Washington in 1786. Actually the line was incorrectly surveyed in 1779 and gave to North Carolina a little more territory than would have been the case if the 36°30' parallel had been followed accurately. After a long dispute Kentucky, as the inheritor of Virginia's claim, was compensated by Tennessee in 1820 by the dropping of the line between Kentucky and West Tennessee, from the Tennessee River to the Mississippi, several miles to the south of the 1779 line. Haywood, *History*, 499-501.

the transfer had the distinct advantage of facilitating land transactions which previously had been deterred because of doubt as to state location of the land involved.

The originals of the two petitions printed below are in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, and photostats are in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. The first, from the inhabitants of the western part of Fincastle County to the Virginia Convention, was received on June 10, 1776. It had been circulated in three copies. Because of the great distance the petitioners had to travel to the county seat, in some cases nearly 150 miles, it prayed that the county be divided. Many signers lived south of the present Virginia line. The request was granted, and on December 6, 1776, Fincastle County was divided into Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky counties with the future Tennesseans being included in the new county of Washington. Black's Fort (Abingdon) was made the county seat, and the first court met on January 28, 1777.[12]

The second petition, dated November 6, 1777, from the inhabitants of the lower part of Washington County to the Virginia house of delegates, is more important from a Tennessee standpoint. It protested the placing of the county seat at Black's Fort, because "from the Court house to the lower end of the County that is now inhabited is more than seventy miles." It prayed for the moving of the county line and the establishment of the county seat at a more central location—which would of necessity have placed it in what is now Tennessee. The petition, which was circulated in four slightly variant copies in different parts of the frontier, was rejected. A majority of the signers lived south of the present Virginia line.

The two petitions are printed as written, without any changes in spelling, punctuation, or capitalization. The signatures have been numbered for convenience of reference. Those individuals who have been identified by the editor, all but a few of whom were residents of what is now Tennessee, have been given footnote citations. Those whose names are included in both petitions are cited under that of Washington County.

[11]In the Washington County (Va.) county court minutes (in courthouse at Abingdon) of October 20, 1779, there is a record of a complaint brought against William Cock (Cocke) by the sheriff of that county for interfering with his collection of Virginia taxes in Carter's Valley, claiming that the region "was in Carolina and never was in Virginia." After Sullivan County, N. C., had been created, the Washington County (Va.) court apologized to Cocke, referring to him as a "Citizen of the State of North Carolina" and a "Person of Probity and Good Demeanour." *Ibid.*, June 20, 1780.

[12]*Ibid.*, January 28, 1777. In April, 1777, Castleton Brooks was appointed constable with his jurisdiction extending from Patterson's Mill (Church Hill) "as far as there is settlers down the river." Brooks was killed in the summer of 1777 in the Hickory Cove.

FINCASTLE COUNTY PETITION

[Endorsed as received June 10, 1776.]

To the Honourable the President and Gentlemen of the [Virginia] Convention.

The Petition of the Western parts of Fincastle County Humbly Sheweth,

That the great extent of our County and the difficulty of attending Courts induced your Petitioners some time ago to solicit the General Assembly for a Division of the said County: But the subsisting disorders in the State then commencing prevented an Answer, Whereby your Petitioners have been Obliged to labour under the hardship of attending (many of them) near one Hundred and fifty Miles, upon all Publick business, which grievance induces your Petitioners now to address your Honourable House for relief either by a Division, if practicable, or a seperate district, so that we may attend Committees &c. without so much Expense and trouble as at present we are exposed to.

And your Petitioners shall pray &c.

[Section 1, Column 1]

1) Chas. Cummings[13] V. D. M. [smeared]
2) Andrew Colvill
3) Saml. Newell
4) George Blackburn
5) John Logan
6) David Getgood
7) joseph Black
9) John Finley
8) Willi[a]m Montgomery
10) John Blackburn
11) John Berry
12) Lante Armstrong
14) Owen Owens
15) James Douglass
13) Alixander Brackinridge
16) Robert Gamell
17) Waytley White
18) Jos. Martin
19) John Fain
20) And[re]w Willoughby
21) Robert Edmiston
22) David Dryden
23) James Crage
24) James elen
25) David Crage
26) Robt. Craig
27) John Vance
28) Wm. Casey
29) James Burton
30) George Finley
31) James Montgomery
36) John Casey
37) James Piper
38) James Mck [ ] [torn]
39) David [ ] [torn]
40) B[ ] [torn]
41) [I]nglis [torn]
42) Joseph Gr[ ] [torn]
33) Olfer Alexander
34) William Berry
35) John Cusack
32) Jas Doun
43) Christopher Acklen
44) John Petterson
45) Thos. Sharpe
46) Wm. Blackburn
47) Arthur Blackburn
48) Samuel Evans
49) John Davis
50) Andrew Mcferren
51) Henry Cresswell[14]
52) Isaac Ru[sse]ll [torn]
53) James McClung
54) John McClung
55) Thos Tearray
56) Adam Kerr
57) Wm McGaughy
58) Francis Dove
59) James Milliken
60) Thomas Berry
61) Alexr Montgomery

[At the side of Column 1]

62) Jno Laughlin

[13](1) Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Sinking Springs, Abingdon, Virginia.

[14](51) Killed by Indians July, 1776, at Abingdon. (Monument in Sinking Springs Graveyard.)

63) Wm Davison
[Section 1, Column 2]
64) David Looney[15]
65) Robert Williams[16]
66) Jno. Johnson
67) Mathew Hair
68) David Maxwell Seignr
69) Jos Adames
70) Jas. Campbell
71) Wm Cocke[17]
72) Wm Anderson
73) Jno. Kearnes
74) Robert Snodgrass
75) Wm Mcbroom[18]
76) Thomas King
77) Jno Diver
78) Robert Gilleland
79) Ephraim Grimes
80) David Grimes
81) David Maxwell Junior
82) Alexr Campbell
83) Wm. Mcmillin
84) Robert Gray
85) Daniel Erwin
86) Jas. Brigham
87) Daniel Hogan
88) Jno. Whitcraft
89) Humphrey Hogan[19]
90) Samuel Kerr
91) Peter Looney
92) Wm. Michels
93) Jas. Patterson
94) David Erwin
95) Jno Irwin
96) Jas Mcnare
97) Jas Christian
98) Jon And[erson] [torn]
99) Gilbert C[hristi]an[20] [torn]
100) Robert [ ]ng [torn]
101) Jas. Mckean
102) Jno. Carr
103) George Maxwell
104) Jno Adair
105) Jno Doughlas
145) Archibald Buchanan
144) Robert Bowen
106) Jno. Donahoe
107) Jesse Adams
108) Alexander Diver
109) Wm. Elliott
[At the side of Column 2]
110) Hugh Crawford
111) Mosses Looney
112) Thomas G[ ] [torn]
113) [ ] [torn]
114) [ ] [torn]
115) James [ ] [torn]
[Section 1, reverse side]
116) Jas. Young
117) Wm. Young
118) Andw. Cowan
119) George Berry
120) David Gilmore
121) Saml Vance
122) James Rutledge
123) Joseph Vance Senr
124) Joseph Vance Junr
[Section 2, Column 1]
125) Fred. Wm. Shurcke
126) Robert Buchanan
127) Wm Blackburn
128) Allixander Breckenridge
129) Arthuer Galbreaith
130) John Hayes
131) Waytley White
132) John Barnes
133) Frederick Stern
133) John Barnes
134) Jacob Stern
135) James Bryan
136) George Blackburn
137) Arthur Neil
138) Samuel Adams
139) Ths. Bird
140) Barnabas Kelley
141) Edmund ONeel
142) Andrew Colvill
143) Robert Gillsepy

[15](64) Lived on Muddy Creek in Sullivan County.
[16](65) Left will, 1786, in Hawkins County; lived in Carter's Valley.
[17](71) Biography in *Dictionary of American Biography;* bought 424 acres on Spring Creek, alias Renfrow's Creek, a branch of the Holston, Mar. 2, 1773, from Edmond Pendleton. Summers, *Annals,* 668.
[18](75) William McBroom. McBroom's Fort in Carter's Valley is mentioned in several Revolutionary pension applications.
[19](89) One of the Long Hunters of 1769.
[20](99) Lived on Reedy Creek at Kingsport; died 1793 at Knoxville.

146) Willm Wilson
147) John Buchanan
148) Willm Hays
149) Andrew Lamy
150) John Hays
151) Willm Hays Junr
152) William Richison
153) Willm Thompson
154) John Brian
[Section 2, Column 2]
155) William Kennedy
156) John Harrise
157) David Snodgrass
158) Samuel Edmiston
159) Richard Higgins
160) Kellens Dungin
161) Corl [Cornelius] Adames
162) James Kincanon
163) francis Kincanon[21]
164) Thomas Backer
165) George Backer
166) Jones Smith
167) John Douglass
168) John Edmiston
169) Andw. Hays
170) James Jarvis
171) Andw. Millar
172) Adam Kimberlin
173) Gor. Clark
174) Henry Willis
175) Wm. Cohran
176) Jester Cox
177) Daniell McCormick
178) Jno McCormick
179) Nathanael Brown
[Section 3, Column 1]
180) John McCutchan
181) Benj. Grey
182) Robt Edmondson
183) David Lowrey
184) James Carr
185) David Carson
186) John Lowrey
187) John foreman
188) Alexdr McNutt
189) John Crilley
190) Robert Huston
191) Moses Buchanan
192) William Lourey
193) Thos. Boilstone
194) Thomas McSpedden
195) Robert Buchanan
196) James Trimble
197) Robert Lamme
198) Samuel Buchanan
199) Jacob Wright
200) Francis Wright
201) James Wright
202) Andrew Buchanan
203) Charles Carter
204) Mosses Forester
205) Barnebas Anderson
206) James Coller
207) John Jones
208) Andrew Edmiston
209) John Edmiston
210) Thomas Montgomery
211) Nich[ola]s Brolstone
212) Gorg breil [?] [German script]
213) Saml. Scoot
214) John Scott
215) Josaph Snodgrass
[Section 3, Column 2]
216) John Kandy
217) John Wormick
218) William McCutchan
219) Robert Spead
220) Collin Crilly[22]
221) William feries
222) John Robison
223) Saml McChesney
224) John Halley
225) John Buchanan
226) Samuel McCutchan
227) James Keys
228) John Summers
229) James Roberts
230) Fras Kincanon
231) Andw. Kincanon

[21](163) Lived at Glade Spring, Washington County, Virginia.
[22](220) Died in Hawkins County.

WASHINGTON COUNTY PETITION

[Endorsed:]

Petition of Inhabitants of Washington complaining of late Division. Nov. 6th 1777. Refd to [the Committee on] Propositions. 2d deferred til the next Session of Assembly. Oct. 15, 1778. rejected.

To the Honorable the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Delegates.

The Petition of a Number of Inhabitants in the lower Parts of Washington County humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioners were greatly Injured in the Division of Fincastle in the year 1776 by the manner in which the line was directed to be run, but on hearing that the Inhabitants of Montgomery and some part of the upper end of this County had Petitioned this Honourable House for an alteration of said Line, and pointed out a new one equally just and Convenient to both Counties, and which we highly approved of, and made no Doubt, from the Justice of their Petition, would be Granted, we therefore rested in hopes that their Grievances and ours would be Redressed at the same time, which alone prevented us from joining them in their Petition. But now we find that only a small part of their Petition was Granted, and we are left to Labour under nearly the same Grievances as we formerly did, especially as the Court House is fixed in a place not above thirty miles from the upper Line of the County and not twelve miles from the Boundary between this State and North Carolina, and from the Court house to the lower end of the County that is now inhabited is more than seventy miles. But had the line been fixed as petitioned for by the People of Montgomery, the County from the Indian Boundary on Holston to the seven Miles ford of said River would not be more than ninety miles long and by fixing the Court house in the Center equal Justice would be done to all, which we humbly presume all have a right to, and which alone we expect or hope for from this Honourable House. For as the case stands now, we cannot expect to have the Court house in the Center of the Inhabitants, nor within many miles of it, as our Representative in 1776 recommended Persons for Magistrates who lived mostly above the middle of the County and too much under his Influence, who placed the Court house where it now is, and had the Bill so framed that there is no appeal from their Judgment in this matter but to this Honourable House, and this was done at a Time when many of your Petitioners, and most of the Principal People in both Counties were engaged on the Cherokee Expedition, and therefore had no opportunity to prevent such measures as were carried on by our said Representative; by shewing the Injustice, Design and Impropriety of them. It is with Reluctance we give this Honourable House any Trouble in this matter but observing in so many Instances your Care and attention to the Rights of the People of this State, and your Readiness to enquire into and redress all just Grievances, we your Petitioners are therefore encouraged to Pray that our Case may be taken into your serious Consideration, that the Line may be fixed and settled between the two Counties in the manner Praved for in the Petitions from Montgomery and some of the Inhabitants of this County at the Last Sessions; and that the Order of this Court for fixing the Court house at Black's Fort may be set aside, and such Methods fallen upon to have it set more in the Center of the County as you in your Wisdom may think best. And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever Pray &c.

[Section 1 (3 pages), Page 1, Column 1]

1) Saml Scott
2) Jas Thompson[23]
3) George Scott
4) Evan Shelby Junr
5) Thomas South
6) pleasant Lockett
7) James Campbell
8) James Trenor
9) Thos Carter
10) Alexr Mcfarland
11) Alexr Douglass
12) Thos Campbell
13) Mathew Moses
14) Geo Moses
15) Joshua Boucher
16) Jos Boucher
17) Jonathan Jennings
18) Alexr Ritchie
19) Lewis Green
20) Rawley Duncan
21) Lewis Green Junr
22) John Blakemore
23) Andrew Davis
24) Saml Ritchie

[Page 1, Column 2]

25) William Duncan
26) James Duncan
27) James Green
28) Josiah Payne
29) George Payne
30) Matthew Payne
31) William Carre
32) Isaac Randoll
33) George Randoll
34) Patrick Wall
35) Richart Davis
36) John Montgomery Juner
37) William Galespe
38) John Miler
39) galley Semore
40) Conerod Miller
41) Robt Stuart
42) John Downning
43) John Holladay
44) Geo: Hartt Snr[24]
45) Thomas Fowler
46) Abraham Bledsoe
47) James Clendennen
48) John Clendennen

[Page 1, Column 3]

49) Jas Williams
50) Phillip Williams
51) Hen[r]y Roberts
52) Alexr Grant
53) Daved Roberts
54) William Roberts
55) Jas Elliott[25]
56) Wm Elliott
57) Archibald fitcher[Fisher][26]
58) Perron Ely
59) John Long
60) Willm Head
61) Isaac Labo
62) Wm Young
63) John Wilson
64) Jonathan Douglass[27]
65) John Long[28]
66) Andrew Cowan
67) John Caseday
68) Thos Cawood
69) John Cawood Snr[29]
70) John Cawood Jnr
71) James Berry
72) Cornelius Riddle

[Page 2, Column 1]

73) Ezekiel Smith
74) John Shelby
75) David Shelby
76) Danl Morris
77) Geo: Hartt Junr
78) Wm Blevins
79) James Blevins

[23](2) Captain at Long Island Flats, July 20, 1776; lived in the vicinity of the Seven Mile Ford. C. B. Coale, "Wilburn Waters," in Summers, *Annals*, 1593-95.

[24](44) Surgeon of 2nd Battalion under Col. Charles Lewis in Christian's Cherokee Expedition, 1776.

[25](55) Entered land in Fincastle, Feb. 9, 1774, on waters of Holston; killed Dec. 28, 1780, at Tellico.

[26](57) Lived in Stanley Valley, Hawkins County.

[27](64) Carter's Entry No. 1073, Jan. 8, 1779, 200 acres of land entered for "Jonathan Duglas in Carters Valy on both sides of the Valey Road, adjoining John Long."

[28](65) Named by Ramsey (*Annals*, 144) as one of the earliest settlers of Carter's Valley.

[29](69) Listed on Washington County, North Carolina, 1778, tax list as in Virginia (north of Holston).

80) Abrm Blevins
81) Henry Blevins
82) John Blevins Jnr
83) Jonathan Douglas Jnr
84) David Webb
85) William Hicks[30]
86) Mashack Hicks
87) ABednego Hicks
88) William Hicks Juner
89) Samuel Smith
90) George Little
91) John Cox Senr
92) Jno Drake
93) Edward Cox[31]
94) John Cox Junr
95) Thos Hambleton
96) Benjm Drake
97) Thos Cox
98) Jonathan Drake
99) Isaac Drake
100) Shederick Moris
101) Grove Moris
102) gorge Coplen
103) John Williams
104) William Wodloe
105) Zachariah Cross[32]

[Page 2, Column 2]

106) Edw: Bond
107) John Lathim
108) William Blanton

[Page 2, Column 3]

109) John Burk
110) John Tye
111) Samuel Underwood
112) Thomas Prather
113) Joseph Wright
114) George Webb
115) John webb
116) Jonathan webb[33]
117) Benjamin webb
118) Jno Malone Snr
119) Geo. Malone
120) John Malone Junr
121) William Malone
122) John Hambleton[34]
123) Joseph Hawkins
124) Nathanel Hawkins
125) Aaro Hawkins
126) mathias Hawkins
127) Nicoles Hawkins
128) Abraham Cross
129) Elisha Cross
130) Tho. Phillips
131) Joseph Cole
132) Solomon Cole
133) Giddian Morris
134) John Crocket[35]
135) Wm Crocket
136) David Crocket
137) David Crocket [*sic*]
138) Wm Ingram[36]
139) David Hughes
140) Ralph Fleming
141) Thos Hughes
142) Saml Hughes
143) Robert Culwell[37]
144) Eemon werren

[Page 2, Column 4]

145) Wollery Bealor
146) Jacob Bealor[38]

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[30](85) Captain, March, 1777, in Sullivan County, according to pension application of Zachariah Cross.

[31](93) The earliest Methodist in the Tennessee country. R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism, I* (Nashville, 1904), 77.

[32](105) Volunteered, 1777, in Sullivan County. Pension R 2519. He died in St. Louis County, Missouri.

[33](116) Captain under Shelby at King's Mountain.

[34](122) In November, 1777, lived in Carter's Valley below Big Creek.

[35](134) Lived in Carter's Valley below Big Creek. See Johnston & Shropshire *v.* Ingram & Mitchell, Records of Superior Court of Washington District.

[36](138) Carter's Entry No. 1075, 200 acres for William Ingram in Carter's Valley "on Mical Border's Improvement to the west of Jonathan Mulkey's place on the Valley Path."

[37](143) On Sept. 14, 1820, Jonathan Douglass deposed that a conditional line marked by Robert Caldwell in 1770-71 was the first survey in Carter's Valley. Bradley *v.* Leeper, Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals at Rogersville.

[38](146) Removed from Frederick County, Virginia, to the frontier settlement of North Carolina, now Tennessee, in the month of April, 1770, and settled on the Holston River. Pension application in Lyman Draper MSS. (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison), 2DD439-443.

147) John Bealor[39]
148) Geo: Bealor
149) Joseph Bealor
150) Ulius Hickes
151) William Beatey
152) Saml Forkny
153) Danl Millar
154) Adw Beaty
155) Bussell [*sic*]
156) Fras Fugit
157) Robert Barent
158) Richard Higgin
159) Danl McCormack
160) John McCormack
161) Thomas McCormack
162) John Daugherty
163) Abraham Crabtree[40]
164) Jacob Crabtree
165) Joshua McCormack
166) Edwd Douglass
167) **Peter Lee**
168) Halbert McCluer
169) John McCluer
170) Thomas Smith
171) Charles Scott
172) Nathan Smith
173) James Smith
174) Sam Smith
175) Tillman Smith
[Page 3, Column 1]
176) Isaac Bledsoe[41]
177) David machan
178) David Steil[42]
179) John Hollis
180) Joshua Hollis
181) John Steil
182) George Steil
183) Robert Steil
184) James Steil Senr
185) James Steil Junr
186) Samll Kerr[43]
187) Joseph Kinkead[44]
188) David Kinkead[45]
189) John Johnson
190) John Donahough
191) David Adair
192) Walter Johnson
193) Benjimin luney[46]
194) David Maxwell Seigr
195) Geo Maxwell[47]
196) Jesse Maxwell
197) David Maxwell Jur
198) James Brigham[48]
199) Peter Looney
200) Robert Gray
201) James Gray
202) Hugh Crawford
203) John Crawford
204) William Inglis
205) John Teeters
[Page 3, Column 2]
206) Robert Looney
207) John Looney
208) Steven renfrow Senr[49]
209) John Renfrow
210) Steven Renfrow Junr
211) Samuel Looney
212) James Cain
213) John Clark
214) Richard gamon[50]

[39](147) Entered land on Beaver Creek, a branch of the Holston, in Fincastle County, Virginia, February 5, 1774. Summers, *Annals*, 653.

[40](163) Lived at Wolf Hills, Washington County, Virginia.

[41](176) Witness to the Treaty of Long Island, July 20, 1777.

[42](178) Appointed in Sept., 1776, by Washington County (Va.) court, overseer of the "Road from Bledsoe's Fort to the Meeting House."

[43](186) In November, 1777, lived in Carter's Valley below Big Creek.

[44](187) Lived high in Carter's Valley near the Virginia line; named by Ramsey (*Annals*, 144) as one of the earliest settlers.

[45](188) Son of Joseph Kinkead; lived at Marshall in Hawkins County.

[46](193) Carter's Entry, No. 1729, for Benjamin Looney, 200 acres between Jessee Maxwell and Joseph Kinkead's on Sinking Creek, including the plantation "where said Looney now lives."

[47](195) Lived near Blountville; one of Shelby's captains at King's Mountain; buried at New Providence Presbyterian Church, Hawkins County.

[48](198) Carter's Entry, No. 1696, Sept. 21, 1779, 300 acres for James Brigham on Muddy Creek, "where said Brigham now lives." He gave part of this land to establish Blountville.

[49](208) Carter's Entry, No 1605, Sept. 13, 1779, 200 acres at mouth of Beaver Creek, "where said Renfroe now lives."

[50](214) Of Sullivan County, near Blountville.

215) ABraham Mclalan
216) Richard Burk
217) Gilbert Karr
218) Thomas King
219) Jas B Meredith
220) John Craig
221) Allex. Diver
222) John Diver
223) John Dunlop
224) Moses Cavet
225) Alexander Cavet
226) William Young
227) Mathew Hare
228) Jessye Adams
229) William Jennings
230) William Hambleton
231) Michal Looney[51]
232) Ephraim Grymes
233) Alexr Hambleton
234) James Blythe
235) James Hambleton Senr
236) James Hambleton Jnr
237) Archibald McNiel
238) Henry Ramsey
239- David Grymes
240) Solomon Whight
241) William Ramsey
[Page 3, Column 3]
242) John Adams
243) Micajah Adams
244) Jonathan Adams
245) Daniel Hoggan
246) Wm Anderson
247) Wm McMullin
248) John Kearns
249) Robert Gilliland
250) Alexander Gilliland
251) William Craig
252) Arthur Galbreath
253) Vallentin Bop
254) Robert Williams
255) Peter Morrison[52]
256) Alexr Mahan
257) John Campbell
258) Thoms Ramsey
259) David Looney
his
260) John X White
mark
261) Conrod Henninger
262) Henry Henninger
263) Michal Henninger
264) John Gre[y] [torn]
265) John Rork
266) Jno Gilliland
267) Thos Bird
268) Jno Norrice
269) Will Bird
270) Richard Stents
271) Daniel Hinone
272) John South
273) John South Jnr
[Section 2 (1 page), Page 4,
Column 1]
274) W. Williams
275) John Williams
276) Jacob Jung
277) Aberham Jung
278) John Shelby jr
279) George Broocks[53]
his
280) Samuel X Wilson[54]
mark
281) James Fulkerson
282) John Carmack[55]
283) Edward Morgin
284) Jacob Fleener
285) Cornelos Carmack
286) Philip Mazen
287) Aadam Fleener
288) Michael Fleener
289) John Fleener
290) Adan yung
291) Nicholas Fleener
292) Jasper Fleener
[Page 4, Column 2]
293) Christopher fonckhouser
294) Robin handerson
295) John handerson
296) John yous

[51](231) Died in Stanley Valley, Hawkins County.

[52](255) Carter's Entry, No. 1985, 200 acres for Peter Morrison on waters of Possum Creek (Stanley Valley).

[53](279) In Carter's Valley, 1776. Williams, *Revolutionary War*, 44.

[54](280) Bought land on Big Creek in a place called Carter's Valley from Col. Richard Henderson. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I (Richmond, 1875), 282.

[55](282) Appointed in September, 1776, overseer of road from Beaver Creek to Bledsoe's Fort, by Washington County, Virginia, court. In the same year was commissary of troops stationed in the Hickory Cove, Hawkins County.

297) John fonckhouser
298) Henry grimes
299) Christopher fonckhouser junior
300) peter yous
301) Roben Smidh
302) Cornelos Carmack senor
303) William Carmack
304) Lewis pills
305) John Robinson
306) William Smith
307) William Henderson
308) Rich Canoor
his
309) Henery H Moris
mark
310) Vinson Hobs
311) Joel Hobs
312) Zekle Hobs
313) William Blanton
his
314) John I Bennins
mark
315) Andrew Goff
316) page portwood Senier
317) page portwood Juner
[Page 4, Column 3]
318) Evan Shelby[56]
his
319) thomis T portwood
mark
320) John oins
321) Peter Mombaim
322) Bahrents Hergelrots
323) Hen. Harklerode[57]
324) Robert Covl [Kyle][58]
325) John McSwain
326) James Shelby[59]
his
327) Garrett O fitzgerrell Junr
mark
328) James Sprols
329) James Inglish
330) Isaac Shelby[60]
[Section 3 (1 page),

[Section 4 (2 pages), Page 6,
331) Jno Blakemore[61]
332) John Livingston
333) William Gill
334) Robert Killgore
335) David Russell
336) Micall Henagar
337) Wm Davison
338) James Davison
339) Joseph Davison
340) John Tate
341) William Tate
342) James Davison Jnr
343) Jonathan Wood
344) Obadiah Terrell[62]
345) David Edwards
346) Jess Cane
347) James Carr
348) Kasper Manscoe[63]
349) George Manscoe
350) Wiliam Livingston
351) Pettar Livingston
352) Robert Tate
[Section 4 (2 pages), Page 6,
Colume 1]
353) John Blanton
354) Moses Shelby
355) Samuel Martin
356) Henry Rice[64]

[56](318) Early settler at Sapling Grove (Bristol); led Chickamauga Expedition, 1779.

[57](323) Entered 114 acres on Beaver Creek a branch of Holston in Fincastle County, Jan. 6, 1775. Summers, *Annals,* 663.

[58](324) (1740-1820). Carter's Entry No. 1861, October 6, 1779, 406 acres for "Robert Koil on the headwaters of Caney Creek, adjoining Cash Brooks and Peter Anderson, including a Cove known by the name of the Hickory Cove." Robert Kyle was captain of the troops stationed in the Hickory Cove, 1776. Draper MSS. 3DD28-31.

[59](326) Captain at Long Island Flats, July 20, 1776; lived at Sapling Grove.

[60](330) Appointed colonel of Sullivan militia, later governor of Kentucky; biography in *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[61](331) Settled at Fort Blackmore in Scott County, Virginia, in 1773. Robt. M. Addington, *History of Scott County, Virginia* (n.p., 1932), 44.

[62](344) Long Hunter, 1769.

[63](348) Also called Mansker. Long Hunter, 1769; founder of Manscoe's Lick.

[64](356) Carter's Entry, No. 1755, Sept. 30, 1779, 600 acres for Henry Rice north side of Holston at the mouth of Rice's Creek, "including the plantation where said Rice now lives and Grist Mill"; Rice's Fort mentioned Apr. 8, 1777, in letter of Anthony Bledsoe, Draper MSS. 1XX21. Rice's Mill was at New Canton, Hawkins County.

359) Nicholas Edwards
360) Elijah Robertson[65]
361) Frederick Calvit[66]
362) J[ames] Robertson[67]
363) Joab Mitchel[68]
364) John M[ ]er [torn]
365) [ ]ill [torn]
366) [ ] Mitchel [torn]
[Page 6, Column 2]
367) John Robertson
368) Jno Honeycut[69]
369) Edward Hogan
his
370) Druriah X Shaner
mark
371) Mark Robertson[70]
372) Scarbrough Rees
373) Abraham Sturgin
374) Jno Michael Smithpeter
375) Huberd Rees
376) Abraham Stodghill
377) James Freeland
378) John Green
379) George Freeland
380) Thomas Caldwell[71]
381) Joseph Martin
[Page 6, Column 3]
382) Thomas Fletcher
383) Moses Winters[72]
384) Robert Patterson[73]
385) Josiah Ramsy
357) Görg Müller [German script]
358) Charles Rice
386) William Patterson
387) John Patterson
388) John Harriss
389) James Harriss
390) Thomas Hinson
391) Willm Hinson
392) Garret Fitzgareld
393) Thomas Williams
394) Amos Winters
395) William Ramsey
[Page 7, Column 1]
396) Demsey Ward
397) George Ward Junr
398) George Ward
399) William Wood
400) James Linn
401) James Kelly
402) Nathanael Hicks
403) Jacob Hoffman
404) John Jacobs
405) Thomas Bailey
406) John Bailey
407) William Mitchel
408) Solomon White
409) James Paterson
410) Isaac Linsey
411) Henry Hickey
412) Stephen Holt
413) David Evans
414) Charles Fielden
415) Peter Turney
416) Henry Turney
417) Palser Rouse
[Page 7, Column 2]
418) John Robison
419) Joseph Hatfield
420) Jas Cauthron

[65](360) Brother of James Robertson; lived 1777, on Sinking Creek, near Yellow Store, Hawkins County.

[66](362) Shot and scalped near Rice's Mill, April, 1777, but lived. Draper MSS. I XX21.

[67](362) Founder of Middle Tennessee; Carter's Entry, No. 71. Feb. 26, 1778, land on south side of Holston below Joab Mitchell's dwelling house. Most of his land lay north of the Holston on Big Creek. In 1777 The Raven, Cherokee chief, wanted the boundary to begin at the mouth of Big Creek just below Robertson's Fort. Williams, *Revolutionary War*. 70n. Robertson sold his land to Adam Orth of Pennsylvania and it is still known by corruption of the name as Ott's Bottom.

[68](363) On 1778 Washington County, North Carolina, tax list; died, 1780, at Boonesboro, Kentucky.

[69](368) Settled on Watauga in 1770; moved to Holston, 1777, near Dodson's Fort; later moved to Cumberland and was in Natchez, 1781. He was a Tory. Draper MSS. 15DD38.

[70](371) Brother of James and Elijah Robertson.

[71](380) Lived on Coldwell's Creek on the edge of the present Ssurgoinsville.

[72](383) In Carter's Valley, fall of 1776. Williams, *Revolutionary War*, 43.

[73](384) Was of the family that built Patterson's Mill at Church Hill. A letter of George Christian's says that Patterson's and Rice's mills were the only ones in 1776.

421) Danl Mungle
422) John Keewood
423) George Gobble
424) Abraham Newland
425) George Halfacre [Hufacre][74]
426) Saml Bell
427) Moses Keewood
428) Danell Davison
429) Richard price[75]

[74](425) Ramsey (*Annals,* 155) refers to him as "late of Knox county" and quotes his account of the Battle of Long Island Flats, in which he participated.

[75]In the Fincastle County petition the name of William Fiels appears in section 3 with a line drawn through it. In the Washington County petition the following names were crossed out: Heny Turney and Peter Turney, page 2; and John adair and James Quimby, page 3.

A SOUTHERN WOMAN, IN 1897, REMEMBERS THE CIVIL WAR

Edited by Anna Mary Moon

The original of this paper, written by Mrs. Anna Mary Deaderick Van Dyke, and read before the Daughters of the Confederacy, General A. P. Stewart Chapter, Number 81, on May 11, 1897, is now in the possession of Mrs. Milton B. Ochs of Chattanooga, Tennessee, a daughter of Mrs. Van Dyke.

Mrs. Van Dyke, born Anna Mary Deaderick, was a daughter of James William Deaderick and his wife, Adeline Clifton McDowell of Danville, Kentucky, and a great-granddaughter of Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky. She was born September 22, 1836, and on June 16, 1859, married her half second cousin, William Deaderick Van Dyke of Athens, Tennessee. Mrs. Van Dyke was active in the original organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and was its third national president, and one of the charter members of the General A. P. Stewart Chapter, Number 81, of Chattanooga. She died October 11, 1911, at the age of seventy-five and is buried at the side of her husband at Chattanooga.

W. D. Van Dyke, the husband of the author, was born at Athens October 20, 1836, the son of Chancellor Thomas Nixon Van Dyke, a prominent lawyer at Athens, and Eliza Ann Deaderick. In the fall of 1861, he entered the military service of the Confederate States as a commissary of the Fifty-ninth Regiment of Tennessee Infantry. He remained an officer of the commissary department in Vaughn's brigade during the entire war, whence his title of major. After the war he came to Chattanooga where he practiced law, and was recognized as a leader in all matter concerning the public interest in his municipality. Major Van Dyke died August 1, 1883.

The memoir is printed as written, without correcting errors in spelling and punctuation, except where necessary in the interest of clarity.

A Few Scattered Thoughts in Regard to the War of 61–65

In looking down the long vista of years, which has intervened between the late civil war, and the present, Memory almost fails to call up *some* of the obliterated & half forgotten pictures, while others spring into life with a vividness, that would mark them as recent occurrences. Lincolns call in '/61 for 75,000 men to quell the Rebellion, was promptly responded to by brave men, ready to do and dare *anything* for the constitution—& they were met by

foeman [foemen] worthy of their steel, By the best blood & chivalry of our beloved, & beautiful Southland—who stood ready for the defense of their homes—their country—and her institutions. A few of us here, remember the preparations for war—The organization and equipment of companies—the public speeches and dinners—the making and presentation of flags—the bugle's call—the God Bless you's, and the partings frought with so much uncertainty, sacrifice and peril. During the four years of privation, suffering, and continuous danger, our women played well their part, and were wonderfully sustained. Their zealous and unbounded faith in the ultimate success of our cause, never wavered—They were called to pass through scenes freighted with hope—love—despair and *misery*. But in their unselfish devotion, they were always ready to cheer—Their comforting ministrations, to the sick—wounded or unfortunate soldiers, were never wanting, And the last hours of many a brave boy, far from the objects of his tenderest love, have been brightened by her gentle, soothing touch, and words of sweetest sympathy. Well do I remember the first time I ever *saw* the Yankees. True they were Tennesseans—but they wore "the blue". 'Twas on a Sept afternoon of '/62, that the alarm was given—that the Yankees had driven their wagons into the cornfield, & were sweeping everything—That corn meant food for man and beast—& although there were only females about the house (with the exception of one old darkie)—We determined to have a small share of that corn. Uncle Charles quickly hitched up the wagon, & we all repaired to the part of the field, most remote from the invaders—and went to work in earnest—We succeeded in saving several loads of corn—and being very weary from the new experience—I had seated myself on the front porch steps—and had scarcely gotten a good breath, when two most inoffensive looking "blue coats", walked up and asked for something to eat. I tried to *rise*, but sank back—seeing my aggitation one sneeringly remarked "Madam, we not horned animals!" hastily and almost unconsciously I replied Sir, to *me* you are more horrible than any horned animal. In after days I got over this terror. But, "they hungered, and I gave them meat." My contribution to the war was *large*, and *precious*—My husband and his three brothers—Six brothers of my own—besides numerous other relatives. My husband was the only member of his family who returned. One sleeps at Darksville[1] Va. Another wounded in the Shannandoah valley, rode 36 hours in such pain, that most of the time he was held in his saddle by his Adjutant—finally reaching Lynchburg, but to die[2]-The third died from exposure[3]—My brothers were more fortunate. Five of them are still living —Two of them carry horrible scars, and others can tell tales of filthy prison life—while one—my brother Shelby,[4] fell at the foot of Snodgrass Hill on the gory field of Chickamauga. Even with the dark pall of desolating war overshadowing us, we had some happy days in Dixie—Times of amusing

[1]Richard Smith Van Dyke, a lieutenant in the Confederate army, was killed at White Post during the Battle of New Market.

[2]John Montgomery Van Dyke was killed near Darksville in 1864, while serving as captain in the Confederate army at the Battle of New Market.

[3]Thomas Nixon Van Dyke, Jr., who was in the Confederate service, died at Cumberland Gap.

[4]Shelby McDowell Deaderick, second lieutenant of his company, and his captain, James T. Gillespie, of the 63d Tennessee Infantry, were charging up Snodgrass Hill at the Battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863, when the same piece of shell killed them both instantly.

make-shifts—Days brightened by the coming of our loved ones—occasional letters—deeds of sacrifice & usefulness, for the absent—Victories which filled ours hearts with a *hope,* big enough to sustain us to the end. Athens was often raiding ground—today the Confederates, tomorrow the Yankees—One afternoon my husband dashed in to spend a short time with his family—These home comings were always attended with so much danger—that the *pleasure* they brought, was of a very doubtful character. After an almost sleepless night I looked out early the next morning, to see everything ablaze with camp fires—They looked like the stares [stars] of heaven for multitude—I aroused Mr. Van Dyke—explained the situation—told him to dress & prepare for flight while I reconnoited. Taking with me a sister-in law—we ran about a quarter of a mile—(for I was young then), nor tarried for anything until we reached the encampment. The men were already preparing to move. In the gray dawn of the early morning—we could scarcely descerne the color of the uniform—And hesitatingly I enquired—"Whose command is this gentlemen?" Not receiving a satisfactory answer—I approached a commanding figure, who seemed to be marshaling his forces—and more peremptorily and pleadingly enquired—"Wont you *please* tell me whose command this is"?—The answer came with such infinite relief, that I almost fell to the ground—Madam, it is mine— N. B. Forest's brigade—With almost the fleetness of the wind—we returned to Prospect Hill[5]—My husband was standing by his horse, ready to leap into the saddle—But before we could tell him whether it was friend or foe—he saw from the reflected light in our faces, that no fear dwelt within. Suffice it to say he retired "decently and in order" with Gen Forest. But a very little while before this, the battle of Chickamauga was fought. We knew the conflict in all its horrors was raging. In imagination we could almost hear the thunder of the cannonading—the roll of the artillery and see the gleam of the sabres, and the flash of the musketry. How torturing the suspense!—how maddening the anxiety, & how we importuned the God of battles, for the safety of our dear ones engaged in that unequal strife. Inability to follow up our advantages & the depletion of our army—left us badly crippled—though we never say *whipped.* Even the federal soldiers claim no victory. It was a most disastrious engagement to them. Soon after this—Gen Sherman, pressed his way into our little village —I have not time, nor disposition to enumerate all the in-conveniences, annoyances and outrages, that this acquaintanceship of six weeks with Sherman's army brought us. Will only say the house was ordered burned—the order revoked—and it was taken for headquarters for the officers—and the family crowded into two rooms—Judge Van Dyke[6] was arrested and taken to Camp Chase—where he spent 14 months. a few weeks later my mother-in

[5]Prospect Hill, the home of Dr. William Haney Deaderick at Athens, was later known as the Van Dyke Place. Dr. Deaderick, a distinguished physician and surgeon, was the only son of David Deaderick II and his first wife, Ann Knight Deaderick. He was the first surgeon to remove the lower jaw bone.

[6]Chancellor Thomas Nixon Van Dyke, son of Thomas James Van Dyke and Penelope Smith Campbell Van Dyke, married his cousin, Eliza Ann Deaderick, daughter of Dr. William Haney Deaderick and Penelope Smith Hamilton Deaderick. Jukge Van Dyke, a very strong Confederate, served with the rank of major. When the Union forces gained control of East Tennessee Judge Van Dyke had to take refuge in another state, having been ordered away by the Federal forces.

law and four children were arrested by Sherman's order, and sent North of the Ohio River two weeks later—& myself & two children were arrested, & under flag of truce were sent into Confederate lines—Six ladies were sent out at the same time. Among them Mrs J. G. M. Ramsey & daughter, wife & daughter of the Tennessee Historian. At Strawberry plains we were searched by order of the Maj who commanded our flag, for contraband articles—Even our shoes & stockings taken off, & our hair pulled down—My offense had been communication with the rebels—I told them very plainly I had never had such communication simply because I had never had the opportunity. The progress of our ambulance from this place to my objective point, Jonesboro, was very slow. On the second day of our journey—we met a flag of truce going to Knoxville, on official business, commanded by my husband—For nine months I had not seen him nor heard one word from him. *Perhaps* you can imagine the meeting—After a happy half hour the flags were ordered to move on—(for war is a tyrant). The next afternoon we reached Greenville—were taken to Mrs. Dr. Williams,[7] where a few days before Gen John H. Morgan had been betrayed, by Mrs. Williams daughter-in law[8]—He took refuge in in her garden where he was found—brutally murdered—thrown across a horse in front of a federal soldier—& with head hanging downward and his brave heart still warm, was with savage glee paraded up and down the main street. Here we were turned over to the Confederate authorities, and it was two days before I reached my fathers,[9] a distance of 25 miles, owing to the poverty of the "rig". But all things have an end— & I finally reached home—Was there only a few weeks however, when the Yankees came—& fearing I might give father trouble, I refuged to Charlotte N. C.—where I staid until the ubiquitous Sherman bore on this position—and in Jan. before the Surrender I came back to Jonesboro—convinced that I had not long to wait for the end. This trip cost me over $2,500. I paid $60 for the transportation of a trunk from one side of a burnt bridge to the other side—'Twas just after Stoneman's memorable raid through Va.[10] I was two weeks in making this trip—travelling by rail—ambulance & finally landed at home on a dump car. Long e'er this the resources of the South were almost exhausted. and necessary supplies were growing beautifully scant. I never felt the actual pangs of hunger—but I have lived on *little*, and then on *less*—have lived three months *solely* on Irish potatoes & corn bread—have been nausiated on the fancy coffees of dried apples—sweet

[7]Mrs. Catherine Williams, although in a town intensely Union, was southern in sentiment. The Williams' home, the largest in Greeneville, was usually occupied by the commanding generals of both armies.

[8]Mrs. Lucy B. Williams, wife of Joe Williams of the Federal army. It has been said by some that she betrayed General Morgan and by others denied.

[9]James William Deaderick, son of David Deaderick II and Margaretta Anderson Deaderick, was born at Jonesboro on November 25, 1812. In 1870 the bar of East Tennessee, by an almost unanimous petition, requested Deaderick to become a candidate for the supreme court of the state. He was elected under the present constitution of the state, which was adopted in that year by a very large majority. On the death of Chief Justice A.O.P. Nicholson in 1875, he was chosen chief justice by his associates on the bench. In 1878 he was unanimously re-elected chief justice, which position he held until 1886, when he declined re-election on account of his age and voluntarily retired at the end of his second term. Judge Deaderick died October 7, 1890.

[10]General George Stoneman, who led a raid to southwestern Virginia in December, 1864.

potatoes, and rye—I have paid $75.00 & $100.00 for shoes for mysel—& $60 & $75 for my little children—Have spent all night in cooking for our retreating soldiers—During the seige of Vicksburg—with mind torn & distracted, for my precious ones were there, a little stranger[11] came to my home unattended by nurse or physician—I have seen my children sicken and the angel of death apparently hovering o'er them, and no resources at hand save a merciful heavenly fathers care and protection, & home remedies. I have carded & spun wool & cotton to make cloth, & with my own hands have helped to fashion it into garments for the soldier boys— I have spun flax on the little wheel for towels & table cloths. Have knit socks by the dozens—Have sent to the front boxes of bandages & lint. Have colored with cedar tops & barks the cotton for dresses & thought myself highly favored in having some turkey red & indigo blue to check them with—Have dyed, & braided straw & palmetto for hats, & time and memory would fail me to tell you, of all the troubles and disturbances and vexations we endured. Yet all so cheerfully borne. But when the surrender came—and the ashes of our dead hopes were scattered, When we realized that for some mysterious reason God saw it was best that the Southern Confederacy should not be established. It took a great deal of Grace to *feel* that all was for the best. Even the fact that "the cruel war was over"—and that some of our loved ones had been given back to us failed to soothe the bitter disappointment that filled our hearts. But God who sees the end from the beginning, decreed that there should be no division of North & South—& we should try to "dwell to-gether in unity"—I have no apology to make—for actions & feelings of the past. *Might* does not make *right*—and I shall always believe we *had* a right—a constitutional right to *seceed* & the North had *no* right, to coerce, or force us back into the Union—but God makes no mistakes & we *know* "it is all for the best." Although in our blindness, we hoped for a different termination.

[11]Thomas Nixon Van Dyke of Chattanooga, who died November 10, 1945.

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Queener, Verton M. East Tennessee sentiment and the secession movement, November, 1860–June, 1861. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 20: 59-83)

Rogers, E. G. Jackson's "Tea Set" recalls battle of New Orleans. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Mr. '48. v. 14:8-9)

Rowell, Adelaide. On Jordan's stormy banks. New York, Bobbs, 1948. 368 p.

Ruderman, A. P. Rural awakening in the Near South; cooperation Greene county. (Nation. Ap. 28, '48. v. 167: 234-5)

Rugby in Tennessee. Contributed by Mrs. C. C. Brooks, Nelle Buck and Mrs. Wallen. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Je. '48. v. 14:23-27)

Samuel Cole Williams, an appreciation; in memoriam; an evaluation. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '48. v. 7: 99-104)

Somit, Albert. Andrew Jackson: legend and reality. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '48. v. 7: 291-313)

————————. New papers: some sidelights upon Jacksonian administration. (Miss. valley hist. rev. Je. '48. v. 35: 91-98)

South divided. (New Republic. Nov. 15, '48. v. 119:8)

Sydnor, Charles S. The development of southern sectionalism, 1819-1848. (History of the south, v. 5). Baton Rouge, La. state univ. press, 1948. 400 p. illus.

Taylor, A. W. Fellowship gets Mountain Center. (Christian Century. Jl. 21, '48. v. 65: 741-2)

Tennessee blue book. 1947-1948. Nashville, Joe C. Carr, secy. of state, 1948. 302 p. illus., ports., maps.

Tennessee, Div. of geol. Geology and mineral deposits of Bumpas Cove, Unicoi and Washington

counties, Tennessee, by John Rodgers. Bul. 54. Nashville, The div., 1948. 52 p. illus., maps, diagr.

————————. The geology of Nashville, Tennessee, by Charles W. Wilson, Jr. Bul. 53. Nashville, The div., 1948. 172 p. illus., maps.

————————. The stratigraphic section of Lee Valley, Hawkins county, Tennessee, by John Rodgers and Deane F. Kent. Bul. 55. Nashville, The div., 1948. 47 p. maps.

Tennessee state planning commission. Tennessee business directory. Pub. no. 189, v. 1-45. Nashville, The commission, 1948.

Tennessee, Univ. Div. of univ. extension. Guide to technical services available to state and local agencies in Tennessee. U. T. Record, Extension ser., v. 24, no. 2. Knoxville, The univ., 1948. 168 p.

Terral, R. Southern liberalism gains a hope. (Survey Graphic. Dec. '48. v. 37: 502-4)

Tipton, W. Hord. The Tipton family history. Mr. Sterling, Ky., The author, 1948. n. p.

Toulmin, Harry. The western country in 1793: reports on Kentucky and Virginia. Edited by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies. San Marino, The Huntingdon Library, 1948. 141 p.

Wagner, Harry C. The beginings of the Christian church in East Tennessee. East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 20: 49-58)

Wheeler and Ferguson destroy property of General John B. Rodger. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Mr. '48. v. 14: 9-12) [From "Memoirs of Mrs. Dwight Jarvis"]

Whitman, Willson. David Lilienthal, public servant in a power age. N. Y., Holt. 1948. 245 p.

Wilkin, Mary, ed. Some papers of the American cotton planters' association, 1865-1866. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '48. v. 7: 335-61)

Williams, Henry N. Legislative apportionment in Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Ap. '48. v. 20: 235-45)

Williams, Samuel Cole. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's memoirs, 1756-1765. Marietta, Ga., Continental book co., 1948. 197 p. front., map

————————. Moses Fisk. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 20: 16-36)

Wingfield, Marshall. Upholds ban on snake handling. (Christian Century. Ja. 26, '49. v. 66: 121-2)

Young, Rogers W. Andrew Jackson's movements on the lower Natchez trace during and after the War of 1812. (Jour. of Miss. hist. Ap. '48. v. 10: 87-103)

ADDENDA — 1945-1947

Ashcraft, Virginia. Public care: a history of public welfare legislation in Tennessee. (The Bur. of pub. adm., The univ. of Tenn. Record. Nov. '47. v. 50. no. 8. 91 p.)

Brown, Virginia Holmes. The development of labor legislation in Tennessee. (The Bur. of pub. adm., The univ. of Tenn. Record. Nov. '45. v. 48. no. 6. 79 p.)

Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee. Papers on constitutional revision. v. 1, 2. (The univ. of Tenn. Record, Ext. ser. Apr., Jy. '47. v. 23. no. 1, 3. 93, 109 p.)

Tennessee's sesquicentennial exhibition, held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., June 1, 1946. Washington, U. S. govt. print. off., 1946. 71 p. illus.

Sims, Carlton C., ed. History of Rutherford county. Murfreesboro, Tenn., 1947. Carlton C. Sims. 236 p. illus.

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1948

University of Tenessee

Bingham, Edgar. Land utilization in the Watauga river basin of North Carolina.

Bird, Elsie Taylor. Tobacco in East Tennessee.

Cagle, Joseph Wheeler, Jr. The geology of the Knoxville quadrangle, Knox and Blount counties, Tennessee.

Clark, Joseph Harold. History of the Knoxville iron company.

Combs, Jerry Walker. Population migration in the state of Tennessee.

Dillahunty, Albert. The West as an influence in the ideas and behavior of Hamilton, Gallatin and Jefferson, 1789-1800.

Ellis, Aubrey Jackson. The role of the southern senators in the Muscle Shoals controversy, 1921-1933.

Fox, Catherine J. Special legislation for Tennessee municipalities.

Hale, Anna Beatryce. A study of the Negro department of the Tennessee school for the deaf.

Harvey, Edward Joseph. The geology of the Avondale quadrangle.

Howard, George Craft. The Louisville area development association.

Keeble, Eleanor Louise. A history of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1934-1947.

Kimery, Greer Jackson. Return Jonathan Meigs, Cherokee Indian agent, 1801-1823.

Maher, Stuart. The geology of the John Sevier quadrangle.

Moore, James H. The geology of the Shooks Gap quadrangle, Knox, Sevier and Blount counties, Tennessee.
Moore, Paul Jasper. History and development of vocational education in Kingsport, Tennessee.
Teng, Hai-Chuan. Marble deposits and marble industry of the Knoxville area.
Wilson, Carrie Centers. History of Jefferson Junior High School, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.
Wilson, Ollie J. Persuasive elements in Andrew Jackson's speeches.
Vanderbilt University
Clifton, Frances. The life and activities of John Overton.
Harlan, Louis Rudolph. The public career of William Berkeley Lewis.
Kinard, Margaret. Frontier development of Williamson county, Tennessee.
Osborne, Ray Gregg. A study of the political career of James Chamberlain Jones.
Satterfield, Robert Beeler. The early public career of Andrew Jackson Donelson.
Spain, Rufus Buin. R. B. C. Howell, Tennessee Baptist, 1801-1868.
Tennessee A and I State College
Daniels, Ophelia Cope. The formative years of Johnson City, Tennessee, 1885-1890.
Maxey, Lillian R. Historical study of the negro in Tennessee, 1796-1868.

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1948

Vanderbilt University
Shackford, James Atkins. Autobiography of David Crockett. Annotated.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The People of Tennessee: A Study of Population Trends. By John Ballenger Knox, with an introduction by William E. Cole. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1949. Pp. xvi, 191. Illustrations, charts, references, appendices, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

"Many of Tennessee's enigmas grow out of her geography and history. Our purpose is not to explain them. But it is possible that by study of our portrait of *The People of Tennessee,* painted with charts and maps and words, people within the State and outside may find for themselves some of the answers.

"This is not a book for specialists. We have prepared it for the interested citizen, and yet we have tried to prepare it with the accuracy of word and number which the specialist would approve. Since the present situation and the future prospect are inevitably linked to the past, we have given considerable attention to events and trends in previous decades.

"This is not primarily a reference book, but it has seemed desirable to include in the appendix some of the statistical information upon which the book is based. One conviction which has come with the preparation of the volume is that many problems relating to the people may be considered with the county as a unit. Consequently, considerable data on counties, as up to date as possible, are included." (Preface.)

The book is divided into four parts: I, Who They Are; II, Where They Are; III, How They Are; and IV, What They Do. Included in the appendices are tables giving population statistics for the counties, cities, and towns of the state, and a comparative table of church membership, Tennessee and the United States, 1906-1936. This work is the first publication of the Bureau for Sociological Research, of the University of Tennessee.

The Tennessee, Volume II. *The New River: Civil War to TVA.* By Donald Davidson (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. viii, 377. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

This second volume of *The Tennessee* in the *Rivers of America* series tells the story of the "new" river. It is one of drama and excitement, containing the grim saga of the Civil War in Tennessee and "the river's own participation in the war in the water borne expedition to Pittsburg Landing and the battles of the gunboats."

"Despite the devastation and ravages of the war, which left the Tennessee Valley a wasteland, and the repression of the Reconstruction movement, the mighty Tennessee rose to a new day of industrial expansion with the final conquering of Muscle Shoals. The whole exciting, controversial story of the TVA program is told in detail by Mr. Davidson in his valuable documentation of one of of our most interesting and important rivers." (Jacket.)

Tennessee's Sesquicentennial Exhibition, held at The Library of Con-

gress, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1946-*October* 21, 1946. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. 71. Illustrations, index. $1.00.)

"On June 1, 1946, the Library of Congress presented an exhibition of rare books, manuscripts, old maps, photographs, prints, newspapers, and music from its collections, together with documents from the National Archives, in honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the statehood of Tennessee.

"This exhibition was opened with an address by The Honorable Clifford Davis, Representative from Tennessee. His speech, a catalog of the exhibition, and photographic reproductions of some of the items displayed, are presented in this publication." (Prefatory statement.)

Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education. By Charles Lee Lewis. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1948. Pp. ix, 369. Frontispiece, notes, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"This biography could not have been written without the cordial cooperation of Dr. Claxton himself, who permitted the author to use his great collection of private papers and allowed himself to be questioned freely during numerous conferences, and patiently answered long lists of questions sent him by mail. He also read the manuscript of the biography and corrected errors of fact. But he made no suggestions as to changing the author's interpretations of the facts." (Preface.)

Professor Lewis, one of Dr. Claxton's students, became his "veritable Boswell" and has treated sympathetically but objectively the life of Claxton and his notable contributions as school superintendent, professor of education at the University of Tennessee, United States Commissioner of Education, and college president. Especially emphasized is his ardent and successful work as a campaigner for public education.

"Young Hickory": the Life and Times of President James K. Polk. By Martha McBride Morrel. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. 381. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"Although I have sometimes employed the devices of fiction, this portrait of James Knox Polk is factually accurate in all its parts, to the best of my ability to make it so. I have reconstructed scenes and dialogues which appear only by allusion or in summary in the records at my disposal; a few I have imagined altogether. All these I have tried to make consistent with history's report of the man, his character, his associates, his times; and each presents some information from a credible source. I have not knowingly contravened the record, either in great things or in small."

Omitted from the bibliography is any reference to the voluminous Papers of James K. Polk in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, although mention is made of two or three small private collections of letters of contemporaries, presumably located in Nashville. Also omitted from the bibliography are several important secondary works dealing with Polk's career which have been published recently.

United States Census, 1850, *for Knox County, Tennessee.* Copied, arranged, and indexed by Laura Elizabeth Luttrell. (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1949. Pp. iv, 201. Tabulations, index. $7.00.)

"The Federal Census of 1850—the Seventh—is the first report that lists the name, age, and place of birth of each free inhabitant (including each

free colored person); also the occupation of nearly all males over fifteen years of age, those who attended school part of the year, those who married within the year and gives other data. . . .

"This copy of the population schedule has been made partly from the original records in the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., and partly from a microfilm of the same in the McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee." (Foreword.)

Memphis Down in Dixie. By Shields McIlwaine. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1948. Frontispiece, map on end papers, acknowledgments, index. $4.50.)

"Since the early days of King Cotton Memphis has been the gay and colorful capital of the mid-Mississippi cotton empire. It is a modern city, with a definite quality all its own, concerned with the present, and not disturbed by statistics or by outside opinions.

"Perhaps because Memphis has always been Southern with a Western twist, it has attracted and sent out men who were adventurous and reckless. . . .And, of course, no history of Memphis would be complete without the story of Beale Street—and W.C. Handy, father of American jazz. . . .

"Memphis is rich in history. It was not very far from its site that the white man first crossed the Mississippi and ever since De Soto's days significant and dramatic events have continued to happen in and around Memphis. Spanish, French and Americans fought over navigational rights on the Mississippi. In the great cotton days planters went to their winter homes in Memphis to blow off steam. When cotton began to wane, Memphis became one of the lumber centers of America. Then followed a new era of industrialization in Memphis. Among the people most responsible for this modernization was Edward Hull Crump, one of the most colorful and controversial figures in American political life, who demands absolute obedience, but who, in turn gives Memphis an efficient administration." (Jacket.)

A History of Rutherford County. Edited by Carlton C. Sims. (Murfreesboro, Tennessee: Carlton C. Sims, 1947. Pp. ix, 236. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $2.00.)

"Rutherford County was the twenty-fourth to be established in Tennessee. Its pioneer history is therefore not as rich as some of the earlier counties. Its economic and cultural development, combined with its Civil War history, and with the fact that Murfreesboro was the capital of the state from 1819 to 1826, however, cause it to rank near the top of the counties of the state in historical importance. . . .

"Since Rutherford County is a part of middle Tennessee, as well as of Tennessee and the United States, its history will, wherever possible, be woven into that of the region, the state, and the nation." (Preface.)

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848. By Charles S. Sydnor. Vol. V of *A History of the South,* ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xvi, 400. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $5.00.)

"The treatment of the history of the South from 1819 to 1848 offered in this book falls into two broad divisions. One of them embraces developments of an internal nature; the other is concerned with the Federal relations

of the South—the course of events through which this region was transformed from a position of great power in national affairs to the position of a conscious minority. The first division, the internal history, includes such physical and economic factors as Indian removal and the subsequent migration of white men and slaves from the Atlantic states into the Gulf states, the spread of the cotton kingdom into this same area, the growth of the slave trade into a business of enormous proportions, and the revolution in transportation worked by the steamboat and the railroad; changes in the mind and spirit of Southerners, signalized by the growth of the evangelical churches, the establishment of numerous colleges, new trends in literature, and a manifold humanitarian reform movement; and a democratic revolution of considerable magnitude that can be traced both in constitutional revisions in most of the Southern states and in political life generally, especially in radical innovations in the arts of securing office and of influencing public opinion.

"The second broad division of this book traces a change of the first magnitude in the relationship of the South to the nation. At the beginning of the period under review Southern politicians and statesmen well-nigh dominated the Federal government; before it was ended they had seen their region decline to a subordinate political position. As their influence over natonal affairs waned, Southerners attempted to invent defenses against what they regarded as Northern political ruthlessness. Feelings of fear, desperation, and bitterness possessed them. Their patriotism toward the nation diminished. Their allegiance to their section increased." (Preface.)

The Dixie Frontier: A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War. By Everett Dick. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xix, 374, xxv. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"Nearly sixty years ago, in the *Winning of the West*, Theodore Roosevelt brought to the attention of Americans the important and dramatic part played by the first settlers west of the Appalachian Mountains. No small part of the narrative dealt with the borderers of Kentucky and Tennessee. The present volume is an attempt to present the everyday life of those first settlers and of the pioneers of the entire region, which was distinctly Southern in its characteristics and culture. . . .

"The Dixie Frontier was one of the most romantic and heroic of the entire continent. No attempt has been made to follow the course of political history. The aim is to give a picture of daily life, with the struggle of the settlers for survival, their attempt to grab the rich resources, their honesty and dishonesty, their points of excellency and their obvious defects. Out of the heroic struggle against savage Indians and an inhospitable nature there came forth the Southern American. . . .

"The sources are largely biographies, diaries, letters, records of interviews, monographs, county histories, official documents, travel accounts, newspapers, and the publications of historical societies and state historical departments." (Preface.)

The Southern Country Editor. By Thomas D. Clark. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948. Pp. 365. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"The country press has been one of the most vigorous institutions in the New South. It has functioned alongside the country store, the rural and small-

town church and school as a common man's institution. So-called common people of the South have left few private personal records to tell their story. Instead their history is preserved in those records of institutions which have served their economic and cultural needs. The most literate chronicle of rural progress is to be found in the weekly newspaper. Ambitious editors, ocuntry reporters, ready-print publishers, local poets and public letter writers have all been in the business of creating the literary record of their communities. . . .

"I am thoroughly aware that the country newspaper is an American institution that is not contained by sectional lines. It is much the same North, South and West. My only justification for considering the Southern rural paper separately is the fact that there were some peculiarly sectional problems which were given much prominence in both news and editorializing. The race problem, a one-party political system, one-crop agriculture, the Southern frontier, Reconstruction and industrialization of the region were distinctly regional problems. . . .

"In presenting the views of the editors and the materials of their correspondents and exchanges. I have tried to preserve the spirit of their written words. Most of my text is based upon a safe number of comparable cases, and conclusions rest on the same foundation. I did not undertake a statistical study of the country paper. There is a place for such a study, but it is of questionable value in a study which undertakes to retain the rich humanity of so informal an institution as this one." (Preface.)

The Rural Press and the New South. By Thomas D. Clark. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xi, 111. $2.00.)

This little book is a printing of the three Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History delivered by Professor Clark at Louisiana State University. In form it is a condensation of his larger work on the subject, *The Southern Country Editor,* with some shift of emphasis from the editor to the newspaper.

The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947. By Francis Butler Simkins. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xvi, 527, xx. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, bibliography, index. ($4.50.)

"I do not attempt to present here the contributions of the South to the history of the United States. Instead, I propose to trace the development of those political and social traits which make the region between the Potomac and the Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity. My narrative begins with the year 1820, when the Negro question, in the form of the slavery controversy, first appeared as a political issue in the full-dress Congressional debate which resulted in the Missouri Compromise. The projection of the race issue into a forum to which Americans always listen created instant and lasting sectional awareness. . . .

"About two-thirds of this book is devoted to the New South. The period since 1865 is emphasized because for the most part it has been neglected by historians. Another reason for concentrating here on the new South is to show that, despite its assimilation of national ideals and techniques, it survives as a regional entity as distinct in many respects as was the Old South." (Preface.)

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. XVI, *The Territory of Illinois,* 1809-1814.

(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. xi, 506. $3.25.)

This work and the companion Volume XVII, soon to be published, "embody a selection of the official papers of the Territory of Illinois as found in the Federal archives in Washington, D. C., the greater portion of which are now centralized in the National Archives." Included are several documents with some relationship to Tennessee history, involving trade relations, Indian relations, immigrants from the state, and purchases of land and slaves.

Home to the Hermitage: A Novel of Andrew and Rachel Jackson. By Alfred Leland Crabb. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948. Pp. 318. Illustrations on end papers. $2.75.)

"Nashville's most illustrious citizen and his faithful wife are the subjects of A. L. Crabb's engaging new novel, yet they must share the spotlight with their own creation and most cherished possession, their beautiful home, the Hermitage. In all the coming and goings of Andrew Jackson's stormy, flourishing career, home was ever his refuge and his delight, for the soul-restoring qualities of cultivating his lands, for the ease of the house he worked so hard for, for the enjoyment of fine things that was instinctive with him—and above all for the companionship of his beloved Rachel. It is a love story for the ages, that of Andrew and Rachel Jackson. Passionate it was in its beginnings, clouded by mischance and evil tongues, but strong and sturdy and so rewarding to both through the years that their fame could well rest on this relationship alone." (Jacket.)

On Jordan's Stormy Banks: A Novel of Sam Davis, the Confederate Scout. By Adelaide Rowell. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948. Pp. 368. $3.00.)

"No Confederate soldier won his way more dramatically into the galaxy of Southern heroes than Private Sam Davis. Though he did not play a major role in the War between the States, in his character and exploits there is a story that has been passed along through the years as a glorious Southern tradition. It has remained for Adelaide Rowell to weave his exciting life into a novel that embraces the entire conflict in Tennessee and the West. . . .

"Adelaide Rowell has made his story into an exciting, engrossing novel. She blends fiction and history with rare skill into a fascinating mosaic of the Civil War era." (Jacket.)

The Tipton Family History. By W. Hord Tipton. (Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, 1948. (Privately printed, 1948. Illustrations, index. $25.00.)

"After a comprehensive study of the Tipton Family this book has been arranged for the purpose of showing how the many families bearing this name all trace back to the main trunk." (Title page.)

Marriage Record of Washington County, Tennessee, 1787-1840. Compiled by Norma Rutledge Grammer and Marion Day Mullins. [Fort Worth, Texas: Marion Day Mullins, 1424 Cooper Street, 1949]. Pp. 55 + index. $3.00.)

This compilation from the marriage records in the courthouse of Washington County, giving for each marriage the date, male, female, and bondman, will be of great value, expecially genealogists.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs 1756-1765. With annotation, introduction, and index by Samuel Cole Williams. (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1948. Pp. 197. Frontispiece, map, plate, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

This is a second reprinting of the Timberlake *Memoirs*. Judge Williams issued the first reprint with his introduction and notes from his Watauga Press in 1927.

Judah Benjamin: Unsung Rebel Prince. By Martin Rywell. (Asheville, N. C.: Stephens Press, 1948. Pp. 112. $3.50.)

Biographers have heretofore neglected the Jewish immigrant who achieved success as a lawyer and served as attorney-general, secretary of war and secretary of state in Jefferson Davis' Confederate States Cabinet. This book by a Harriman, Tennessee, author is therefore a welcome contribution to historical writing. Mr. Rywell, a native of New York City, dedicates his work "to Cumberland University, in whose atmosphere I became conscious of the South."

NOTES AND NEWS, 1948

Programs of the Society in 1948

January. "Senator Eaton from Tennessee," by Miss Arda S. Walker of Washington, D. C., formerly of Maryville.

February. "The Smoky Mountain Railroad," by A. M. Glasgow of Memphis, read by Dr. William Way, Department of Transportation, University of Tennessee.

March. "The Origin of the First 'Jim Crow' Law," by S. J. Folmsbee, Professor of History, University of Tennessee.

April. "The Role of the Southern Senators in the Muscle Shoals Controversy, 1921-1933," by Aubrey J. Ellis, candidate for M. A. degree, University of Tennessee.

May. The Society met in May at Jonesboro, the oldest town in Tennessee. The local committee composed of Mr. Paul M. Fink, Chairman, Mr. W. Flinn Rogers, and Mr. Hodge Mathes arranged the program. Visitors arriving in the afternoon were taken on a guided tour by Mr. Fink.

The program was held in the Methodist Church, an historic building approximately a hundred years old.

The following papers were read:

"The History of the Methodist Church of Jonesboro," by Mr. Ben B. St. Clair, Pastor;

"The Temperance Movement in Tennessee," by Miss Grace Leab, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City;

"Agricultural and Economic Development of Washington County, Tennessee," by W. F. Rogers, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City.

June. "The History of the Knoxville Iron Company," by Joseph H. Clark, Department of Economics, University of Tennessee.

October. "The Beginnings of the University of Tennessee as a Federal Land Grant College," by S. J. Folmsbee, University of Tenessee.

November. The annual banquet of the Society was held at the Hotel Patten in Chattanooga on Saturday, November 20. In addition to a large group of Chattanoogans, a number of members and friends were present from Knoxville and other points in East Tennessee.

Dr. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky spoke on "The Country Editor in Tennessee."

The members of the Program Committee were Dr. Culver H. Smith, Chairman; Mr. E. Y. Chapin, Sr., Mr. Gilbert E. Govan, and Dr. James W. Livingood.

The members of the Local Arrangements Committee were Mrs. Cyrus G. Martin, Chairman; Miss Adelaide Rowell, Mr. Milton B. Ochs, and Mr. Burton Jones.

December. "Sequoyah, the Great Indian Chief," by Mr. Hugh L. Callahan of Madisonville.

All meetings except those in May and November were held in the McClung Historical Room of Lawson McGhee Library. The May and November meetings were designed to revive a practice of some years ago of

holding some meetings in other places in East Tennessee.

Resolutions of the Society in 1948

At the January meeting of the Society the following resolution was adopted:

On the Death of Judge Samuel Cole Williams

The East Tennessee Historical Society mourns the loss of a distinguished and beloved member, Judge Samuel Cole Williams. His devotion to the cause of history, his vision and enthusiasm, and the stirring example of his own great accomplishments have been of inestimable value to the Society; the memory and the record will remain an inspiration to its members.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the East Tennessee Historical Society place on record its sense of the great loss it sustains in Judge Williams' death;
2. That it convey to members of the family its deepest sympathy; and
3. That the Society's Editorial Board be asked to make appropriate special recognition in the 1948 *Publications* of Judge Williams' eminent contributions both to the growth of the Society and to the advancement of historical interests in Tennessee and the South.

Mary U. Rothrock, Chairman

At the May meeting of the Society, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The Tennessee State Highway Department has surveyed for U. S. Highway 11E at New Market, Tennessee, a relocation that passes through the historic Brazelton house at that place, and WHEREAS, Construction on the line of relocation is imminent and would result in the destruction of the Brazelton house, and

WHEREAS, The Brazelton house deserves to the preserved both as a reminder of the early days of the state and as one of the few remaining and best examples of Georgian architecture in East Tennessee.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the East Tennessee Historical Society take all appropriate steps to urge the relocation of the highway along another route, thereby averting the destruction of this landmark, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Tennessee, the commissioner of Highways and Public Works, the members of the Tennessee Historical Commission and the press.

Note: In response to the activities of the Society, arrangements were made for the removal of the Brazelton home out of the path of the highway; but it was later discovered that the deterioration of the building rendered it impossible to be moved, and it was therefore destroyed.

For the second year, James B. Campbell was the winner of the Calvin Morgan McClung Award. His paper, judged the best in *Publications* No. 20, dealt with "East Tennessee During the Radical Regime, 1865-1869." Mr. Campbell, a former graduate student at the University of Tennessee, is now a member of the History Department of Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. The judges were: Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College; Robert

S. Fletcher, Oberlin College; and William R. Hogan, Tulane University. This annual prize is the gift of Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville, in the memory of Calvin M. McClung, the founder of the McClung Historical Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library.

At the December, 1948, meeting of the Society the following officers of the East Tennessee Historical Society were reelected for the year 1949: LeRoy P. Graf, president; James S. Bowman, vice president for the Knoxville area; Paul M. Fink, vice president for Upper East Tennessee; Culver H. Smith, vice president for Lower East Tennessee; Pollyanna Creekmore, secretary; Martha L. Ellison, treasurer; and Harvey Broome, Verton M. Queener, Laura E. Luttrell, and Harry Hyman, members of the executive committee. S. J. Folmsbee was reelected managing editor of the *Publications,* and LeRoy P. Graf, associate editor. W. Neil Franklin and Culver H. Smith were reelected to three-year terms on the board of editors.

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